

TORIES IN MELTDOWN • IT'S MAY-HEM!

Force them out now **plus** The new Brexit secretary who hates the poor >>**Page 20**

Why a new EU referendum isn't the answer for Labour >>**Page 6**

Socialist Worker

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STOP TRUMP IN LONDON ON FRIDAY

ASSEMBLE 2PM, BBC, PORTLAND PLACE, W1A 1AA. RALLY 5PM TRAFALGAR SQUARE

**SHOVE
OFF**



**Protest at Trump and Robinson's
racist roadshow**

NO TO FASCIST RALLY ON SATURDAY

ASSEMBLE 1PM, OLD PALACE YARD (OPPOSITE PARLIAMENT), LONDON SW1P 3JY



THE THINGS THEY SAY

'This isn't the interview I agreed to give'

Tory John Redwood gets snippy when asked about the Tories' 'civil war'

'Haunted'

What former foreign secretary Boris Johnson has become due to the party's Brexit woes

'It is not her finest night in politics'

Tory Jacob Rees-Mogg on Theresa May's disastrous Chequers summit last week

'Deluding herself'

Tory Bernard Jenkin says the cabinet doesn't support May

'Sense of religious or cultural entitlement'

Ofsted head Amanda Spielman attacks Muslims in schools—again

'Just great TV'

Sun columnist Jane Moore loves watching emotional abuse on Love Island

'Support for England is about shared values'

The Guardian view on flying the St George's Cross

'So we can celebrate together as a nation'

Labour wants a bank holiday if England win the World Cup



Richest give just £240 a year to charity while wealth rises

THE RICHEST people in Britain give the least amount of money to charities, new research has shown.

"The vast majority of wealthy people don't give very much to charity at all," said Cath Dovey, formerly of wealth management consultancy Scorpio Partnership.

Along with Matthew Bowcock, trustee of The Philanthropy Workshop, Dovey has initiated a drive to persuade the rich to part with more of their money.

They calculated that the median level of giving among the super-rich—those worth more than £10 million—is just £240 a year.

That means half give more than £240 a year and half give less.

The figure for people worth between £1 million



ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

and £10 million is just £500 a year. Yet the wealthiest 1,000 people in Britain increased their wealth by 10 percent

last year. Bowcock and Dovey want the rich to double their total giving a year—to £4 billion. They warned that this is

likely to be a tough ask.

"We have a free-market capitalist economy that allows people to make exceptional wealth," Bowcock pointed out.

Troublemaker doesn't think that the answer to the world's problems lies with charities.

And we want to take all the money from the rich, not just a tiny fraction of it.

Still, the figures show how those at the very top operate to look after themselves.

OVER HALF of adults in Britain are too poor to pay their monthly credit card bills.

Credit report firm Equifax found that nearly three quarters of people with children aged between 12 and 16 can't afford the bills.

SOME 38 construction workers died after accidents at work in the 12 months to 31 March. The figure for the previous year was 30, Health and Safety Executive figures show. A total of 144 workplace deaths were recorded across all industries in 2017/18. And the fatality injury rate for self-employed workers was nearly double that of workers.

Campaigning for construction safety

MPS ARE being advised to leave Twitter to escape abuse, Tory Nadine Dorries has claimed.

She said parliament's Health and Wellbeing Service was dishing out the advice.

Perhaps if MPs didn't give the go-ahead for so many horrendous policies, they'd receive a little less abuse?

Donors aren't happy with Tory 'shitshow'

THE TORY crisis is scaring away their donors.

The Tories had their annual summer party at The Hurlingham Club in London last week.

High-profile Tories, including Boris Johnson and Michael Gove, were seen "working the room" to try and get donors to hand over money.

One donor said, "A group of us were at the Tory bash."

"We were all asking why we fund this shitshow."

Perhaps one problem is some of the auction items.

One was for a "fascinating evening of dinner and discourse" with Michael Gove and his wife, odious Daily Mail

columnist Sarah Vine.

TAX officials have been told to go easy on Amazon, MPs heard last week.

"I was told by a senior official that HMRC had been instructed not to go too hard on Amazon yet," campaigner Richard Allen told the Treasury Committee.

Tory MP Charlie Elphicke added that there was a "secret policy not to go too hard on the big boys".

Down with England in World Cup battle

THE RACIST Democratic Football Lads Alliance (DFLA) posted a piece from the "DFLA council" on its Facebook page this week.

It celebrated England's victories in the World Cup and used them to gloat at the left.

It read, "You're not singing any more Mr Snowflake are you?"

"The streets of England are rammed with men, women and painted faced children, three lions on their chests and a St George's flag draped over their shoulders."

"Football has brought us back to being English. "If those few

can't handle it, get off this Island and live like animals somewhere else."

The liberals and some on the left who say backing England is anti-racist because of its black players are wrong.

Troublemaker will be glad when England is out.



KNOW YOUR ENEMY

No. 73

The European Parliament Made up of MEPs across the European Union

● Voted down plans to reveal how MEPs spend their expenses last week

● MEPs can claim money for hotels, restaurants and travel

● They don't have to provide any receipts—an extra £3,900 is just paid into their bank accounts

Delay threat to Daniel Morgan inquiry

THE Metropolitan Police faces a multimillion-pound bill after judges ruled that three men jailed for the murder of Daniel Morgan were maliciously prosecuted by a corrupt officer.

The Court of Appeal said a claim by the Met that Detective Chief Superintendent David Cook had not acted maliciously in trying to fabricate a case was "like saying that Robin Hood was not guilty of theft".

Jonathan Rees and brothers Glenn and Garry Vian came under investigation after the murder of Daniel Morgan in Sydenham, south east London, in 1987.

The case against the three men hinged on the evidence of a serious criminal, Gary Eaton, who claimed to have come on the scene shortly after Daniel was attacked.

However, the case collapsed after it emerged that Eaton had been "coached" by Cook in his desperation for the case to be solved. A judge ruled last year that Cook had "intended to pervert the course of justice".

Rees and the Vians are now likely to share more than £1 million in damages.

The ruling threatens to further delay an inquiry into the murder, the failed police probes and claims of police corruption.

First announced in May 2013 and expected to take a year, it is not expected to report back until at least 2019.

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Protests across Britain say Trump's not welcome

PEOPLE ACROSS Britain were getting ready to give Donald Trump the welcome he deserves this week—a deafening howl of rage against him and his government.

Trump is set to avoid London almost entirely—scared of the strength of feeling in Britain against the racism, sexism, bigotry and climate change denial he represents.

But in every major city—and in many smaller towns—there will be protests. The major demo will be in London on Friday from 2pm.

Cops have said they will turn out as many police on London's streets as during the London riots of 2011.

Some 6,000 officers are being deployed in London and another 4,000 are spread out over the different locations where Trump could go.

Activists are targeting places Trump is supposed to be heading to.

Protests were set to take place outside Blenheim Palace in Oxfordshire on Thursday evening and the prime minister's country pile Chequers earlier on the Friday.

Reaction

Oxford Stand Up To Trump activist Ian McKendrick spoke to Socialist Worker about how people have been building for the protests.

"Theresa May is going to be at Blenheim Palace on Thursday hosting Trump—and 100 business leaders are invited to meet him," he said.

"People have said they're coming to protest from Birmingham, Warwickshire, Gloucester—and even Devon. When we've been campaigning, we've run out of leaflets because the reaction's been so strong.

"We've filled up an 89-seater coach to go to Chequers. The take-up was so good that we had to book a second one."

Trump is rumoured to be spending time in Scotland. The Scottish TUC union federation has been at the heart



NORTH LONDON Labour Party activists building opposition to Trump last weekend

PICTURE: TOTTENHAM CLP

PROTESTS

- List of coaches and local protests at bit.ly/Whereandwhen
- Chequers demonstration details at bit.ly/Chequersprotest
- Blenheim Palace protest, go to bit.ly/Trump-Blenheim
- For details of the Edinburgh protest, go to bit.ly/Edinburghh
- Glasgow protest details at bit.ly/GlasgowTrump

of organising protests against him.

"The STUC has been working with a wide range of organisations to build protests against Trump that will demonstrate the strength of feeling against him," a spokesperson told Socialist Worker.

"We have been setting the stage for demonstrations on Friday evening in Glasgow and in Edinburgh on Saturday. Many social and political groups are organising transport.

"The president's isolation during his time in Scotland—represented

by a wall painted with the symbols and slogans of our movement—will be lost on nobody."

Activists in Aberdeen have called a protest at the local Tump International Golf course. The array of demonstrations will deal a blow against Trump and the racists across the world who look to him.

What's your story?

Email with your ideas
reports@socialistworker.co.uk

Urgent appeal for South African miner

MAKHANYA SIPHAMANDLA is a socialist, a revolutionary, a leader, and a miner in South Africa.

Today he works two miles below the surface at the Amplats mine.

In 2014 Makhanya and his two comrades, Bheki and Jacob, led Amplats platinum miners in a walkout against the international mine owners for five long months and won. It was a strike of attrition, hardship and starvation.

Now they face prison. In 2014 all three were arrested on a fabricated charge of attempting to murder a strike breaker.

They were held in prison. This was a crude attempt to decapitate the strike leadership. Eventually, on bail, Makhanya came to the

Marxism Festival 2014 in London and called for international solidarity.

In 2015, as an international lawyer, I observed their trial and watched how within minutes the prosecution abandoned their case.

The defendants sued for false imprisonment—and won. Then last week, before any money was paid, the charge of attempted murder was reinstated.

They have no money so they have no lawyer. And on conviction, they face the prospect of a substantial prison sentence, up to life imprisonment.

Jim Nichol

Donations via Jim Nichol
Sort code 07 01 16 Account 14249162

Makhanya Siphamandla

Charge sheet of Trump's crimes

THERE ARE now so many reasons to protest against Donald Trump it's difficult to keep track—and Trump added to the list last week.

At a rally in the state of Montana last Thursday, his mask slipped and revealed the ugly creature underneath.

Trump reiterated his characterisation of Elizabeth Warren, a senator with Native American heritage, as "Pocahontas".

He went on to say he would offer her a million dollars to take a DNA test because he did not believe she was Native American.

"She's based her life on being a minority," he said in a sickening racist rant.

Trump wants to shore up his base among the racist right in the US in advance of the midterm elections in November. He finished the rally by saying, "Get your asses to the polling stations."

The scandal of migrant children separated from their parents continues.

The New York Times newspaper reported last week that "records linking

Trump—racist thug

children to their parents have disappeared, and in some cases have been destroyed."

And in a shocking example of the savage cruelty of Trump's border policy, a guard taunted a mother separated from her child.

An immigration cop told Angelica Gonzalez-Garcia, "Happy Mother's Day" after telling her she would never see her child again.

Now they are reunited following a legal battle. But the horror continues for thousands.

On Thursday of last week Trump's secretary for health and human services Alex Azar admitted that the number of migrant children separated from their parents was 3,000. Originally just over 2,000 were reported to have been missing.

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How we can beat back the fascist threat from our streets

by TOMÁŠ TENGYEL-EVANS

ANTI-RACISTS ARE going all-out to build opposition to supporters of jailed Nazi Tommy Robinson.

The fascists plan a mass rally on Whitehall in central London on Saturday as part of their attempt to regroup the forces of the British far right.

Momentum is growing behind a Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) open letter, which calls on people to protest against Donald Trump and the Nazis who idolise him.

Initial signatories included Labour shadow ministers Diane Abbott and John McDonnell and the leaders of all the major trade unions.

Supporters of SUTR in the Labour Party in Haringey, north London, were out leafleting for both protests on Friday of last week.

Tottenham Labour Party tweeted that it “will be proudly attending both demonstrations against racism”. “We’re out by Seven Sisters tube today mobilising people,” it said.

Support

Around 28 Labour councillors have already signed in Haringey. And SUTR activists have gained support from Newham Labour mayor Rokhsana Fiaz and over 30 Labour Party councillors.

There is also growing support among leading trade unionists to take on the Nazis.

RMT union members on the Bakerloo tube line agreed last week to donate £100 and get members out onto the streets.

Vaughan Thomas, RMT London Transport Region president, told members, “We need to have a mass mobilisation for Saturday 14th to oppose the fascists in London.”

Supporters of Robinson previously held a 15,000-strong rally on Whitehall in central London on 9 June. The “Free Tommy” rally was the largest outdoor mobilisation organised by fascists in British history—and

BACK STORY

Everyone who can should join the counter-demonstration

- Saturday’s demonstration is called by Nazis
- Nazi Tommy Robinson was thrown in prison in May for breaching a court order
- His jailing has provided an opportunity for Nazis to organise
- In June his supporters marched in Leeds, and racist attacks took place just days later
- It’s urgent to get on the streets

brought together all the different far right factions. The Nazis sense an opportunity to rebuild a movement on the streets that can carry out racist violence against Muslims.

Alarmingly the Nazis and racist populists of Ukip have been brought together for the first time. Ukip leader Gerrard Batten has spoken at fascist rallies and asked people to “organise politically” and join his party.

The racist Democratic Football Lads Alliance (DFLA) is acting as the bridge between the two.

And the recent mobilisations have been attended by young supporters of Donald Trump and the US alt right. Generation Identity—a group that says white people are facing genocide—was one of the most popular groups on last month’s march.

With the far right trying to grow, getting a big turnout against them is crucial.

Numbers will make it safer for protesters—and make it easier to get colleagues and classmates onto the protests. And it will be part of the process of building up our forces so we can confront the fascists on the streets and break their confidence and organisation.



A BIG protest of Tommy Robinson supporters last month

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

Racist rulers tighten rules to stop rescue operations for refugees

ALMOST 500 people have drowned in the Mediterranean Sea because the Italian government has closed its ports to rescue ships. Their deaths in the last three weeks bring the death toll in the Central Mediterranean to over 1,400 in 2018.

Italian interior minister Matteo Salvini stopped the Doctors Without Borders rescue ship Aquarius from docking last month. And on Monday of last week the last remaining rescue ship, Sea-Watch 3, was detained in a port in Malta.

Sea-Watch 3 captain Pia Klemp said, “While we are hindered from leaving port, people are drowning, this is absolutely unacceptable.”

“Any further death at sea is on the account of those preventing rescue from taking place.”

Their deaths are part of a new clampdown on refugees—and are down to the European Union’s (EU) Fortress Europe policy.

Some EU leaders offered mild criticism of Salvini’s policies.

These decisions kill refugees

But the real division in the EU is over how best to clamp down on refugees. Racist right wingers such as Salvini call for internal borders while the EU wants to reinforce external borders. Either way, refugees die.

German chancellor Angela Merkel hammered out a new immigration deal last Thursday with her right wing interior minister Horst Seehofer. He had threatened to bring

down Merkel’s coalition over the issue. He was hoping to outflank the far right Alternative for Germany (AfD) party in upcoming Bavarian elections.

The deal backs off from internment camps on the border, but includes fast-tracking deportation of asylum seekers.

Seehofer said it sends “a signal to the world that illegal migration is no longer worth it”.

The deal shows that the EU is not on the side of refugees—any more than the Italian government is. Many of the refugees are fleeing the West’s imperialist wars and poverty in the Middle East.

Those who make it across the Mediterranean are faced with death, destitution and deportation. Over 1,000 refugees are trapped at Britain’s border at the port of Calais in northern France.

The only solution is to open the borders. That means building a mass movement against racism in Britain that can force the government to do that.

A unified fightback at big Leeds demonstration

HUNDREDS of anti-fascists turned out in Leeds last Saturday for a Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) rally against the fascist Yorkshire Patriots.

They outnumbered the band of around 100 Nazis, despite confusion in the local press about whether the fascists were marching.

Anti-fascists began mobilising after Nazis from the English Defence League said they would hold a protest in defence of jailed fascist Tommy Robinson.

It comes after some 400 racists and fascists marched in Leeds last month chanting “Muslims off our streets.”

Just four days later, a mosque and a Sikh gurdwara in the south of the city suffered arson attacks.

There was a great atmosphere of unity among anti-fascists on Saturday, and a real sense of the dangers posed by fascism to the labour



Leeds anti-fascists lead the way

PICTURE: NEIL TERRY

movement. The anti-fascist protest organised by Leeds SUTR marched through town. Many people joined the protest as it marched.

It joined up with a smaller Leeds Anti-Fascist Network mobilisation which had been kettled by the police. It meant there was a united march of around 700 anti-fascists in Leeds city centre.

Chants of “Fascism has got to go” and “Say it loud say it clear, refugees are welcome here” rang out to cheers from

bystanders.

Labour shadow justice secretary Richard Burdon spoke as did Labour MP Hilary Benn. There were also speeches from Labour councillors.

The local Labour Party in Leeds moved their celebration of the 70th anniversary of the NHS from Saturday to Sunday so their members could attend.

There were also sizeable contingents from local trade unions, including Unite, GMB, Napo, PCS and NEU unions. *Christian Hogsberg*



Marching against hate in Wakefield

National Front is humiliated

“YOU HUMILIATED the National Front today” was the comment of one police officer after our Stand Up To Racism (SUTR) protest and march in Wakefield, West Yorkshire, last Saturday.

It was a great day for anti-fascists. Around 250 people rallied and marched against the Nazi National Front (NF).

It came on the same day that anti-fascists also outnumbered the Yorkshire Patriots in Leeds (see above).

Only about 20 NF turned up and the pub where they were

assembling tried to cancel them after complaints.

The Nazis called off their march and then scuttled away after a short rally. We had a loud and lively march through the town and reclaimed the Bullring where the NF had held their tiny rally.

There was a range of union banners—including from Unite, Unison, NEU, GMB, FBU, the local trades council, and youth and faith groups.

Wakefield MP Mary Creagh addressed the march recalling the murder of Labour MP Jo Cox by a

fascist in her nearby constituency.

We held a minute’s silence for all victims of war, violence and terrorism. But we also celebrated our diversity with performances from poets and a range of speakers from mosques, trade unions and other organisations.

The mood was great and people went away energised and confident that we are the majority in Wakefield, and the streets are ours, not the fascists’ and racists’.

Laura Miles

Socialist Worker
WHAT WE THINK

TRUMP FEEDS FASCISTS—WE MUST STOP THEM BOTH

DONALD TRUMP’S visit to Britain will embolden racists and fascists here and in the US.

Supporters of Tommy Robinson and the Democratic Football Lads Alliance see Trump as someone who shares their twisted worldview.

By inviting the bigoted US president for a state visit Theresa May has sent a message to the far right here that their hatred is legitimate.

Both Friday and Saturday’s demonstrations—against Trump’s visit and Robinson’s supporters respectively—can undermine that message and weaken the far right.

The bigger each of the protests is, the better chance we have of hastening their fall.

And the task could not be more urgent.

Across Europe, politicians are moving to the right.

There are important differences between fascists and right wing parliamentary forces.

But they are often helping each other.

The move right has been encouraged by Trump’s racist attacks. He has previously called for a “total and complete

shutdown” on Muslims entering the US.

His ban on people coming to the US from seven countries, including five majority Muslim ones, was upheld last month by the Supreme Court.

Trump has also cracked down brutally on migration and people seeking refuge from Latin America.

His statements and actions give the far right in Britain and Europe hope they can get a similar figure elected.

When 15,000 fascists and racists marched in London last month to demand Robinson’s release from prison, leading figures from the alt right in the US joined them.

Trump gives hope and confidence to the far right in Britain and across Europe

imported Chinese goods.

China’s ruling class responded on Tuesday by promising £20 billion of investments in Middle East countries—in exchange for access to oil and gas.

This a direct threat to the US’s interests in a part of the world it has destroyed as it fought to maintain its dominance.

This could further inflame imperialist rivalries in the region.

Trump has broken with leaders of European countries and returned to more direct

Trump’s former adviser Steve Bannon sent a statement of support to be read out. The alt right in the US has proved its ability to pull together softer racist elements of the movement with harder fascist street fighters.

That strategy is getting results in Britain—it must be stopped before it goes any further. Now the leader of the racist Ukip party Gerard Batten is trying to move to the head of this movement.

Figures such as far right provocateur Milo Yiannopoulos have joined Ukip.

And Paul Watson from the Info Wars racist conspiracy website declared he had joined in an attempt to launch a “soft coup”.

That encouraged 600 racists to join the crisis-ridden party. Some on the left have argued that mobilising against Trump will send a strong enough message and give our side confidence.

But the fascists will grow if they go unchallenged. They must be confronted.

The lift that a big anti-Trump mobilisation will give people must be translated into people on the streets against the fascists.

TRADE WARS TO REAL WAR

WARMONGER-IN-chief Donald Trump is ramping up tensions with China and fuelling the prospect of war in the Middle East.

Trump’s allies have tried to paint him as a great peacemaker and diplomat after a recent deal with North Korean leader Kim Jong Un.

But Trump’s plan for North Korea is part of a bigger clash with China. Trump has launched a dangerous trade war against China with massive tariffs and taxes on

China’s ruling class responded on Tuesday by promising £20 billion of investments in Middle East countries—in exchange for access to oil and gas.

This a direct threat to the US’s interests in a part of the world it has destroyed as it fought to maintain its dominance.

This could further inflame imperialist rivalries in the region.

Trump has broken with leaders of European countries and returned to more direct

confrontation with Iran, the US’s biggest rival in the Middle East.

So he ripped up a deal with Iran signed under previous president Barack Obama—and re-imposed tough economic sanctions.

He is also supporting his allies Israel and Saudi Arabia—who are threatening war against Iran and demanding more action.

Trump is carrying on in a long line of US warmonger presidents.

He must be stopped before he launches another devastating war.



A Tommy Robinson supporter

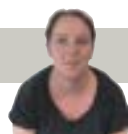
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WHY DOES CAPITALISM NEED BORDERS?

ANALYSIS

SADIE ROBINSON



Target rotten Tories, not new referendum

THE TORY crisis is fuelling calls for a second referendum on Britain's membership of the European Union (EU). Some say the Tories are making such a mess of Brexit that it would be better to retreat from it altogether.

Labour's Brexit secretary Keir Starmer said last week that Labour was not calling for a new vote but was "not ruling out a second referendum". Deputy leader Tom Watson said the same in a Radio 4 interview on Tuesday.

On the surface, this can sound progressive. Why not give ordinary people a say—and undermine the Tories at the same time?

The problem is, ordinary people have already had a say. They voted to leave the EU. And if Labour politicians really want to undermine the Tories, they should be fighting to force them out.

Instead some are limiting their criticism or even backing Theresa May in a bid to appear "responsible".

Labour MP Jess Phillips tweeted on Sunday that May "should hold her nerve" against her Tory critics. And Watson said, "Do we want to work with the government to get the best deal for the country? Yes we do."

"Is the current meltdown in the government good for anyone? Electorally it might help my party, but that's no good. We want a good deal."

There are two wrong assumptions being made here. One is that the wrangling at the top over Brexit is about producing a "good" deal for ordinary people.

The second is that the EU is progressive. That's why some back a "soft" Brexit that would see Britain continue to have close ties to the EU. And it's why others want a second referendum to overturn the Leave vote altogether.

But the rows over a Brexit deal are focused on getting trade agreements that will benefit British businesses, not workers. Bosses fear that a so-called "hard" Brexit deal will hurt their ability to make profit.

They are piling pressure on May to go for a "soft" deal. Asda boss Roger Burnley was the latest to issue dire warnings about a hard Brexit this week.

Majority

The bosses' panic says a lot about the nature of the EU. The overwhelmingly majority of Britain's bosses backed staying in the EU because it benefits them.

It was set up to promote and protect the interests of capitalists in member states, and help them better compete with bosses elsewhere.

The EU isn't about promoting internationalism or solidarity between workers (see pages 14&15). Its rules aim to keep people from outside the EU out, even if that means they drown in the sea.

EU institutions have imposed austerity and privatisation that has wrecked workers' lives. And EU rulings have blocked workers from taking action.

Those in Labour and on the wider left who hope for a "soft" Brexit say they are want to protect ordinary people's living conditions. Yet they are arguing to keep close links with a neoliberal, racist body.

And by seeking to overturn the referendum result they are stoking cries of betrayal that will boost the far right and divide working people.

The key thing determining our wages, conditions, pensions and services is not whether Britain is in the EU or not. It's how much struggle there is by ordinary people against those at the top.

May seemed to have survived to fight another day as Socialist Worker went to press, but the crisis for the Tories will continue. The government was to publish a White Paper on Brexit on Thursday following a deal drawn up at Chequers last week (see page 20).

Tories backing a hard Brexit are already demanding changes to it. The threat that Tory disunity could let in a Corbyn-led Labour government might persuade some to fall into line.

But May's critics could call a vote of no confidence in her if they don't get what they want.

There is real potential to force May out and deepen the crisis for the government—but we need more struggle to realise it. Labour should be focusing on building that struggle and getting the Tories out—not doing deals with them.



WORKERS IN Wigan on strike against outsourcing

PICTURES: SOCIALIST WORKER

Health strikes in Wigan force bosses to drop outsourcing

by TOMÁŠ TENGEY-EVANS

STRIKES BY health workers in Wigan have forced bosses to withdraw plans to outsource hundreds of jobs.

Unison and Unite union members across five hospitals had struck for nine days in May and June. They had planned a further seven-day walkout from Tuesday of next week.

Jack, a Unison union member, said workers were "ecstatic" at hearing the news at an emergency strike committee meeting on Friday.

"It's such big news for us—especially considering we got letters just the day before saying we would be outsourced on 1 August," he told Socialist Worker.

The result shows the confidence and unity that comes through fighting back—and that strikes are a powerful weapon to resist the bosses.

Jack said, "It was good to stand up for ourselves. The strikes have brought people together."

Subsidiary

Bosses at Wrightington, Wigan and Leigh (WWL) NHS Trust wanted to outsource 900 jobs to wholly-owned subsidiary WWL Solutions Ltd (see box).

Jack said, "It was pressure from the council that got the deal, but it was our

pressure that had an impact on the council." A statement from the council said that "as a result" of the deal bosses "are able to withdraw their plan to create the subsidiary company WWL Solutions".

The full details of the deal have not been released. But there are signs that Unison national leaders may have signed up to some dangerous concessions to end the dispute.

Socialist Worker has seen an email from Trust CEO Andrew Foster. It says, "Although Wigan council is



providing some funding to the Trust, we still need to deliver significant savings in Estates and Facilities.

"We will be working closely with trade unions to identify how these savings can be achieved, but will likely mean changes to working practices, service reviews and a reduced number of staff delivering the services, with staff not being replaced when they leave."

Tough

"This is recognised by Unison, with Dave Prentis, head of Unison nationally, saying, 'We know that WWL still has tough financial challenges as a result of wider NHS funding issues and we commit to working with them in partnership to help navigate through what will be a difficult year ahead.'"

Foster goes on to thank all the "volunteers" who "supported front line services" during the strikes.

The cuts Foster talks about would hit workers and the service hard. But strikers have shown their power and should not accept any detriment to jobs, wages or terms and conditions.

And instead of partnership with Foster, there should be a push for him to go.

Jack is a pseudonym

Walkouts were the key

HEALTH bosses' plans in Wigan were the spearhead of a dangerous new form of privatisation threatening the NHS in England.

While the trust would have been the sole shareholder, it could undermine wages and terms and conditions as a bridgehead to full-blown privatisation.

The Wigan result will put bosses in West Yorkshire, Derbyshire and other

areas—who are trying to push through the same attacks—on the back foot.

Announcing strikes now at those hospitals could force bosses to back off.

The deal between bosses and unions to end strikes in Wigan was brokered by the Labour-run Wigan council.

But it wouldn't have happened without a serious programme of industrial action, and solidarity from others.



A Wigan striker

Got a story?

Email ideas to reports@socialistworker.co.uk

Trump tries to bin key abortion regulations

But activists are ready to fight the attacks on a woman's right to choose, says **Sadie Robinson**

ABORTION RIGHTS are under threat in the US. On Monday President Donald Trump announced his choice for a new Supreme Court judge following the retirement of Anthony Kennedy.

On live TV he nominated Brett Kavanaugh, a strongly right wing figure.

Trump had publicly vowed to only consider judges who want to repeal the 1973 Roe v Wade ruling that made some abortions legal in all states.

Planned Parenthood is a key reproductive rights organisation and sexual healthcare provider. Its former president Cecile Richards said Trump's promise is the first time a president has said such a thing.

But she added that the attack is sparking widespread opposition.

"This has thrown kerosene on a fire that's already burning among women in America" she said.

"In the last 18 months 20 percent of America has marched on some issue and the number one issue has been women's rights."

The Centre for Reproductive Rights found that if the Roe ruling is overturned, legal abortion would immediately be at risk in 33 states.

Some states have put "trigger laws" in place to ban abortion if the Supreme Court overturns Roe v Wade.

Unpopular

Cecile said it will be "widely unpopular" to take away rights that women have had for over 40 years.

One poll for Quinnipiac University this month found that 63 percent of people said the Roe ruling should stand.

"Women aren't going to wait," said Cecile. "Women are on fire—they are ready to make sure that they protect their rights."

It matters who is on the Supreme Court, but the problem is wider. The NARAL Pro-Choice America group says that Trump is also "filling federal courts across the country with anti-choice judicial nominees".

FIGURE IT OUT

17 percent of deaths in the US related to pregnancy were down to illegal abortions in 1965

24 percent of women will have an abortion by the age of 45

1 hospital in New York had 1,600 women suffering from injuries or infections relating to illegal, unsafe abortion in 1962

One Alabama nominee, Andrew Brasher, is defending an Alabama law that allows judges to appoint attorneys for fetuses. Wisconsin nominee Gordon Giampietro thinks that contraception is "an assault on nature".

The Roe ruling granted some abortion rights, but women still face restrictions and hurdles—especially if they are poorer.

Trump represents a serious threat to women's reproductive rights and some think the best way to fight this is at the ballot box.

One Hollywood Life article last week referred to the case of Savita Halappanavar, who died in Ireland in 2012 after being denied a life-saving abortion.

"Are you ready to be a Savita?" it asked. "If you aren't, then make sure you register to vote and then vote in this year's midterm elections."

Yet Democrats have overseen attacks on abortion rights too. Unfortunately even Democrat Bernie Sanders, who calls himself a socialist, has backed Democratic candidates who want to restrict abortion rights.

The fight for women's rights can't be left to politicians who are pulled by a desire to win over right wing voters. Struggle has protected and extended abortion rights—more of it can push back Trump's assault.

SUPPORTERS OF a woman's right to choose in Sacramento, California

'We broke a powerful taboo,' says veteran reproductive rights activist

ABORTION RIGHTS have been won in the US, as elsewhere, by struggle.

The landmark Roe v Wade ruling in 1973 saw the Supreme Court legalise abortion. Prior to that, medics practising abortion faced jail, fines or the loss of their licence.

But the ruling didn't come from nowhere.

The fight for abortion rights was a big part of the women's liberation movement in the 1960s. Women and some men held protests to demand safe and legal abortion.

Symbol

A woman from Connecticut, Gerri Santoro, died after an illegal abortion in 1964. Her face became the symbol of the pro-choice movement.

Some feminist groups set up their own referral groups to support women seeking safer abortion services.

One group, the Abortion Counselling Service of the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, created an underground abortion service in 1969.

The group's codename was

Jane. Over four years it provided over 11,000 abortions.

Former Jane member Laura Kaplan said, "We were ordinary women who, working together, accomplished something extraordinary. In picking up the tools of our own liberation, in our case medical instruments, we broke a powerful taboo."

Pressure from the movement saw 14 states reform restrictive abortion laws between 1967 and 1973—while four repealed the laws entirely.

In 1970 New York became the first state to legalise abortion on demand up to the 24th week of pregnancy. Others followed.

On 22 January 1973 the Roe v Wade ruling struck down all existing criminal abortion laws. It said a woman's decision to end a pregnancy in the first 12 weeks was protected under the "right of privacy".

The ruling allowed states to regulate abortion after 12 weeks. But it said if a woman's life or health were in danger, she would not be forced to continue the pregnancy at any stage.

Over the next two decades the court rejected dozens of efforts to

limit access to abortion services. But it allowed some attacks.

A ruling in 1979 said states could insist a minor had to obtain parental consent or get a judge's agreement to have an abortion.

The next year the court limited access to abortion for women who depended on Medicaid for health insurance—hitting poorer women.

Endangered

In 1976 Congress passed the Hyde Amendment. It banned federal funding for abortion except in cases of rape, incest or if the woman's life is endangered. It led to a swathe of state restrictions.

The Guttmacher Institute, a research organisation that promotes reproductive rights, said states enacted 1,074 abortion restrictions between 1973 and 2016. Barack Obama's 2010 Affordable Care Act extended the Hyde Amendment restrictions on abortions.

Medicaid officially only covers abortions in cases of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger, although some states differ. In 2016 some 1.2 million women did not have access to affordable coverage for abortion.



New fears over safety of cladding after tests

Over a year after the Grenfell Tower fire, many buildings are still thought to be a danger, says **Alistair Farrow**

FURTHER DOUBTS have been cast over fire safety in Britain just over a year after the Grenfell Tower fire.

Cladding system Vitracore G2 has been found to be unsafe. It may be replacing cladding stripped from buildings in the wake of the Grenfell fire.

It is made from parts that were previously presumed to be of “limited combustibility”. But tests found it to be combustible.

Distributor Valcan had previously said the cladding system was safe and had passed its required tests.

On top of this, the BS-8414 tests that are the industry standard have already been found to be faulty.

They are supposed to be “full system” tests, but they only test a small area of cladding.

They have been found to fail to replicate how fires behave in the real world.

Over 300 residential buildings have failed the BS-8414 tests, but many more could have passed and still be unsafe.

These latest revelations add to a devastating body of evidence exposing the fatal consequences of decades of deregulation in the building and fire safety industries.

Environmental health professionals have approached the government to ask for updated guidance on how to report hazards.

Faulty

They argued they can't report hazards such as faulty fire doors or electrical equipment because the current guidance doesn't address these issues.

Changes to the guidelines were proposed in April, backed by 97 percent of environmental health professionals and a committee of MPs. They argued the changes were needed to make clear “whether a property meets minimum standards”.

But Tory ministers have now rejected the recommended changes to the Housing Health and Safety Rating System. On top of this,

BACK STORY

The Grenfell Tower fire left at least 72 people dead last June

- Part of the reason for the disaster was that the tower was covered in dangerous cladding
- Many other buildings were also found to have unsafe cladding in the months that followed the fire
- Now cladding that was said to be safe has been found to be combustible
- And the test used to determine cladding safety doesn't replicate how real fires behave

ministers have delayed decisions on whether to introduce electrical safety inspections for residential properties every five years, and on the compulsory installation of carbon monoxide alarms.

And the Tories continue to treat the survivors of the Grenfell fire, and the bereaved, with contempt.

The Home Office failed to grant visa extensions to the three children of one victim, Fatima Afraseabi, so that they can attend the inquiry into the fire. It wanted evidence that there was a “requirement to attend in person” for the three of them.

The Grenfell inquiry will take a break in August. After that it will hear from the core participants. These include some of the people and organisations responsible—Kensington and Chelsea council, the Tenant Management Organisation, and the Rydon firm which carried out the refurbishment.

As the people guilty of the murder of at least 72 people walk into the inquiry, they should be made to face the anger of ordinary people.

Grenfell Silent Walk—Saturday 14 July, 6pm, Notting Hill Methodist Church, 240 Lancaster Rd, London W11 4AH. Go to bit.ly/silentwalk14July



On other pages...

Internationalism—a tradition of global solidarity >> Pages 14&15



MARKING THE anniversary of the Grenfell Tower fire last month

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

ANTISEMITISM

Labour reserves the right to criticise Israel—while fighting antisemitism

by **NICK CLARK**

THE LABOUR Party's leadership has infuriated the party's right wing by adopting a definition of antisemitism that does not silence criticism of Israel.

In a new code of conduct, Labour uses the main text of the definition of antisemitism set by the International Holocaust Remembrance Alliance (IHRA).

It correctly defines antisemitism as “a certain perception of Jews, which may be expressed as hatred toward Jews”.

Yet crucially the document does not adopt examples associated with the IHRA that harshly restrict criticism of Israel.

Enraged

One example—“claiming that the existence of a state of Israel is a racist endeavour”—has been used to target campaigns against Israel.

The Labour leadership's refusal to include this example enraged the right. MPs Keir Starmer, John Woodcock, Ian Austin and Anna Turley all attacked Jeremy Corbyn.

So did right wing organisations such as the Board of Deputies of

British Jews, which represents conservative opinion among a section of Jewish people.

A statement claimed that Labour had denied “the Jewish community” a say over what antisemitism is.

Guardian newspaper columnist Jonathan Freedland claimed, “Labour now holds its members to a lower standard of anti-racism than the law demands.”

But Labour's code of conduct is precise and unequivocal in its condemnation of antisemitism. It even adds to and fleshes out some of the IHRA's definitions.

Yet it also clearly distinguishes antisemitism from legitimate criticism of Israel—two things defenders of Israel try to conflate.

The Campaign Against Antisemitism claimed Labour's new rules are “driven by the Corbyn faction's obsessive hatred of the Jewish state”.

The campaign calls the Palestine Solidarity Campaign antisemitic.

And it said Labour had given “the green light to its members and supporters to express antisemitism disguised as discourse about Israel”. In fact the code of conduct

bans “holding Jews collectively responsible for actions of the state of Israel”. It also warns Labour members against comparisons between Israel and Nazi Germany.

It is clear that “discussion of the circumstances of the foundation of the Israeli state (for example, in the context of its impact on the Palestinian people) forms a legitimate part of modern political discourse”.

Considered

It bans use of the word “Zionist” as a code word for Jew. It adds, “It is not antisemitism to refer to ‘Zionism’ and ‘Zionists’ as part of a considered discussion about the Israeli state.”

Jewish Voice for Labour welcomed the new rules. A statement said the code of conduct is an “effective way of dealing with the issue of antisemitism in Labour and society at large”.

But it warned, “Much will depend on how this code of conduct is applied in practice, particularly in disciplinary cases.”

No one should now be expelled from Labour for criticising Israel, or speaking out against its defenders.

Brexit is a bad deal

I AM genuinely unsure how to best relate to the Brexit rows.

The European Union isn't anti-racist and looks after corporations' interests.

But on the other hand, any actual Brexit plan that is likely to go through will make matters worse for migrants and black people.

It will also free up the corporations to grab more public services.

So surely socialists should oppose Brexit—at least in the form that is going to happen in 2019.

I think the slogan has to be "Stop this Brexit"—with the emphasis on the "this" part. And that means joining with others who are campaigning against Brexit or who want a second referendum.

David Riley
Bristol

Our wings were clipped

HEATHROW Airport expansion shows that the One Million Climate Jobs Campaign still has a lot of work to do.

Unite union leader Len McCluskey played a major role in getting Labour MPs to vote for the third runway.

Expanding aviation is unlikely to create the jobs promised.

Heathrow employs fewer workers than it did ten years ago as a result of automation.

And investing in low carbon alternatives, such as long-distance night trains is more likely to create jobs.

John Sinha
North London

Beat back far right

IN RECENT weeks we have seen the far right holding mass demonstrations and rallies in some of our cities and towns, notably Manchester, Leeds and London.

They have been beaten in the past and will be beaten again.

But we have to win the arguments against the divisive policies of the right.

Pauline Wheat-Bowen
Huddersfield

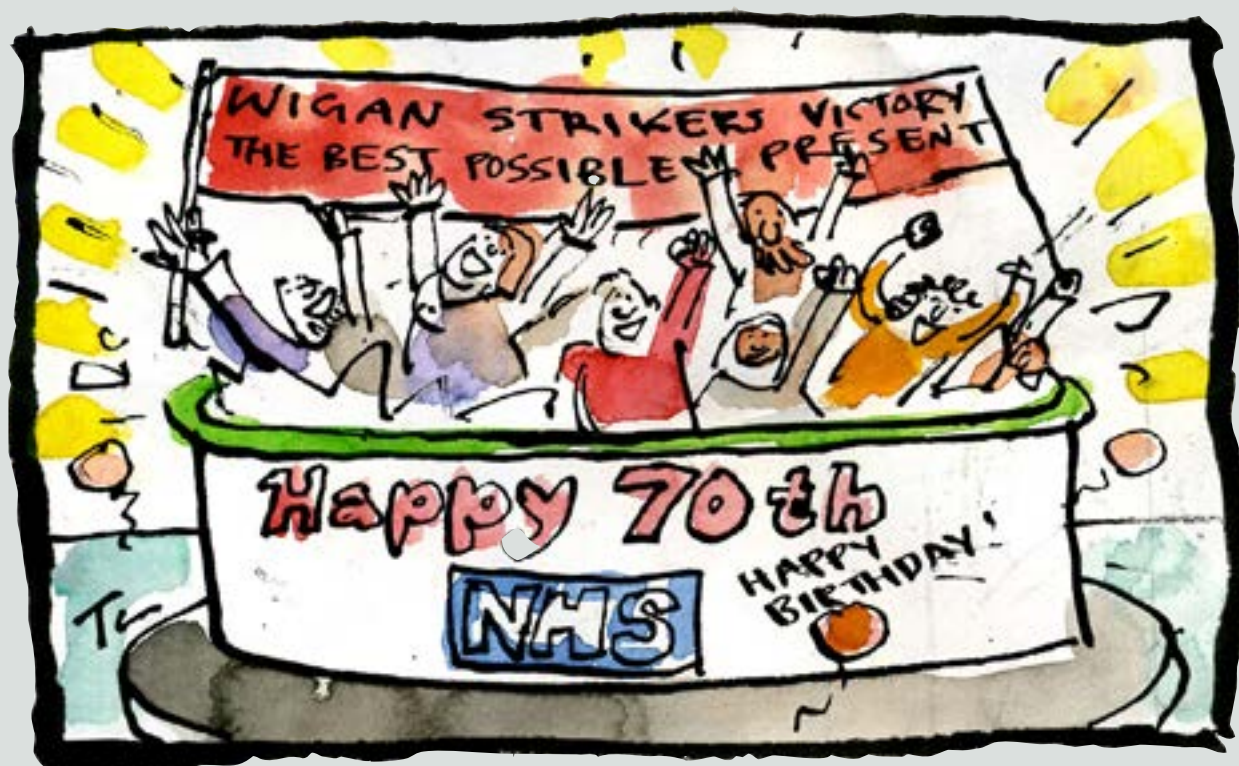


ILLUSTRATION: TIM SANDERS

Wigan strikers inspire us to fight for the health service

OUR UNISON union branch at University College Hospital in London voted to donate £2,000 to the Wigan hospital workers who struck and won against privatisation (Socialist Worker, 4 July).

During the discussion about Wigan, people were nodding along in agreement.

We looked at materials from Unison conference about the difference between being employed by the NHS and an outsourced, wholly-owned subsidiary.

There has also been loads on the BBC and inside the union about the NHS's 70th birthday, which was last Saturday.

People looked at what was happening in Wigan and think it's a step too far away from the NHS.

And people have been buoyed by hope that someone will fight and win, and turn the tide on privatisation.

We had ancillary staff around the table at the branch committee meeting who were privatised after our strike in 1999.

They know what a victory it would be to stop outsourcing or bring people back in house.

It has been good to see the union leadership taking it seriously—it's a fight we need to win.

The fact that Unison general secretary Dave Prentis sent out a circular with the donation details helped.

It went to branch secretaries and they acted on it.

One of our actions from the



Confidence on the picket line in Wigan last week

PICTURE: SOCIALIST WORKER

branch committee was to commit to petitioning around workplaces to let more people know about the Wigan strike.

I also thought it would have been good to get workers down for local workplace meetings

Janet Maiden

Unison union at UCH (personal capacity)

AT NORTH Bristol NHS Trust we were very proud of our campaign that stopped management setting up a wholly-owned subsidiary to run the facilities department.

It was the unity of the three unions—Unison, Unite and GMB—that really won the campaign.

They set up meetings that actually involved members and we had a petition to take round to get our colleagues involved.

The GMB, which organised a lot of the people who would be

affected, had big meetings for members.

My union, Unite, held a lunchtime meeting.

While we didn't have many members in facilities, people came because they were very worried about the implications for other services.

Management backed off from their plans, but we know that they will come back for more unless we keep up that force.

I've worked in the NHS for 32 years now.

And from when I've started I can remember fighting against cuts and privatisation.

It's brilliant to see people marching for the NHS and people in Wigan fighting from below.

Gwyneth Powell-Davies

Unite union at North Bristol NHS Trust (personal capacity)

Just a thought...

Back to the days of Debs?

Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez winning the Democratic primary in New York was something very positive from the US for a change (Socialist Worker, 4 July).

From my understanding of socialism in the US, this is on a par with the tradition set by Eugene Debs in the early 20th century

Richard Pickin
On Facebook

A long history of racism

THE US and Britain have long been racist.

They were responsible for slaughtering native populations in North America and Australia.

And they grabbed their land and resources too.

Ed Ray
On Twitter

Where were 'Brit values'?

THE intelligence and security committee reports confirmed that British intelligence agencies were active in the torture and kidnap of terrorism suspects after 9/11 (Socialist Worker, 4 July).

Were these those much cited "Western Values" that the "War on Terror" was fighting to defend?

Sasha Simic
East London

Good on left in Mexico

IT WAS very good to read about the victory of Andres Manuel Lopez Obrador in the Mexican presidential election (Socialist Worker, 4 July).

His victory has broken more than 50 years of right wing rule.

Frances Withenshaw
Saffron Walden

Look at the EU's friends

IT'S UNSURPRISING to see Alastair Campbell heading up the campaign to block Brexit.

As Tony Blair's spin doctor, he helped murder a million Iraqis.

Now the EU is keeping those he didn't kill out—the refugees.

Julia Ryder
Worcestershire

MEET THE AMERICANS TAKING ON TRUMP

Donald Trump's assaults on migrants, women and working class people are relentless. But a movement is growing that has the potential to beat the bigot-in-chief. Activists from across the US spoke to **Alistair Farrow**

FROM THE Mexican border to the Middle East, Donald Trump is wreaking havoc. His brutal crackdown on undocumented migrants is pushing racism even deeper into US society.

Just last week Trump said the US faced an "infestation of gangs" because of immigration.

And his racist rhetoric has given fascists confidence to mobilise—both in the US and Britain.

He's planning fresh assaults on a woman's right to choose (see page 17) and has pushed through laws to undermine workers' rights.

But the movement against him has been inspirational.

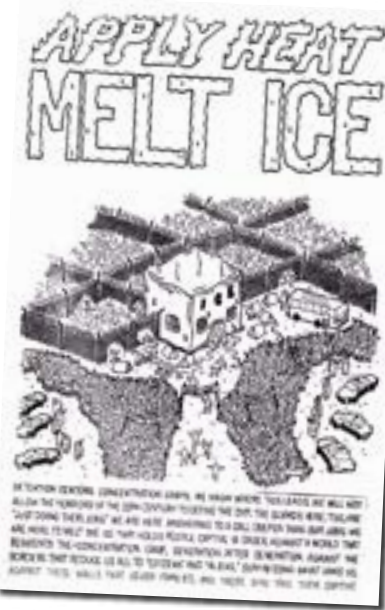
From the Women's March to teachers' strikes, ordinary people have opposed his politics of hatred and division.

That spirit of resistance was reflected in Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez's surprise win in a Democratic Party election to decide its New York candidate for Congress.

The Democratic Socialist of America (DSA) member dealt a blow to the Democratic establishment—and other similar results could be in the pipeline.

But the movement opposing Trump can't be limited to getting more progressive politicians into office.

Unless there's an independent movement outside, even the most left wing inside the Democrats will be forced to compromise by the party establishment. Ocasio-Cortez has put class at the centre of her politics. But last week she also said, "You know,



I'm not trying to impose an ideology on all several hundred members of Congress.

"It's not about selling an -ism or an ideology or a label or a colour. "Democrats are a big tent party."

The last time a president was forced out of office was in 1974—in the context of a huge anti-war movement and higher levels of working class struggle.

We are some way from that, but the potential is there.

That makes every mobilisation that pushes that movement forward very important.

Crucial

Every time workers take action is crucial—such as when taxi drivers struck against Trump's Muslim ban.

It is clear that millions of people are outraged at the Trump presidency.

Some 49 percent of people in the US believe he is a racist, according to a study by the Quinnipiac University. On top of this 58 percent believe that he has handled immigration badly.

High-profile figures in the Democratic establishment have opposed some of Trump's immigration policies because they can see it's a popular issue.

They came out against Ice border guards separating children from their parents and locking them up.

But the strength of the movement has pulled some of them further to the left than they would have liked. Protests have erupted again over the child detention scandal.

A spokesperson for the migrant rights organisation Movimiento

Cosecha (Harvest Movement) told Socialist Worker, "Our Cosecha teams locally have been involved in protests.

"We are now calling for a national day of action on 31 July."

Previous waves of protest against Trump have come and gone or lie dormant—such as the Women's March or the March for Our Lives over school shootings.

Keep Families Together has mobilised hundreds of thousands so far—and the politics are more contested than in other movements. The Abolish Ice protests are directly taking on border control.

Ocasio-Cortez made the demand part of her election campaign.

Now more mainstream Democrats have opportunistically taken up the slogan—but it represents a shift. Now the left can push for more.

The growing movement at the heart of the most powerful imperialist power is a source of great hope for all those fighting for a better world. In Britain it should invigorate us to build the biggest possible opposition when Trump comes to London this week.

If he is unopposed, the racists and fascists who look to him will get a boost. But if he's met with mass protests it will boost our side.

The racist president should face protests wherever he goes and be made to feel a captive—like the 2,300 children he has locked up in immigration detention.

Z Black Socialists of America, New York

IT'S IMPORTANT to keep showing the world that Trump is trash. It's an important message to send—but it is symbolism.

Poor and working class people need to start looking locally and seeing how and why their bosses and the shareholders at their companies are trash too.

The workers need to start turning out against corporate dictators and galvanising each other.

People need to understand that electoral politics isn't even close to half of the battle here. Change is not going to come from the top down. Most of the work needs to happen in your workplaces.

We need democracy in the workplace—and not as an abstract idea either.

JOHN BELLAMY-FOSTER Author

A MAJORITY of the working class in the US is anti-Trump, and it is likely to become more so.

Trump's political support is based not in the working class but in the lower middle class, those typically earning \$70,000 (£50,000) or more and predominantly white.

He's not simply attacking people on the basis of race or gender—he's also attacking people on the basis of



Families Belong Together rally, San Francisco (main picture) On a Portland anti-Ice demonstration (above) Mackenzie is part of Occupy Ice protests (top). Z stresses the need for action beyond electoral politics (middle) John Bellamy-Foster calls for an emphasis on class struggles (middle, lower) Anlin says protests have shifted public opinion (bottom) Main picture Fabrice Florin/Flickr

enough is the massive redistribution of income we're seeing under Trump, and the destruction of social protections.

Official unemployment in the US is at around 4 percent, but the quality of jobs is getting worse. There's been less economic resistance, with some notable exceptions such as the teachers' strikes. Wages are increasing at below the rate of inflation and that's because of this restructuring of jobs.

MACKENZIE

Abolish Ice occupier in Portland, Oregon

WE ARE against Trump's racist anti-immigrant rhetoric.

His entire election campaign was built on the founding thought that some people deserve to be in the US and some people don't.

It's not just about everything Trump says and tweets—but in every policy he pushes for.

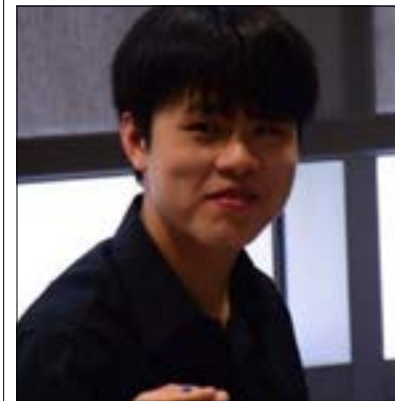
So living in a cooperative community such as Occupy with genderqueer people, undocumented people, people of colour and white folks is in itself anti-Trump.

We are all here occupying outside the Ice border agency offices to draw national attention to the human rights abuses.

And we are physically trying to stop Ice from functioning by refusing to move. It's just the cherry on top of the big "fuck you" to Trump.



We are taking part in actions against Trump. We will beat money power with people power



CONFRONTING THE cops in Portland, Oregon

class. That needs to be emphasised because it's a unifying factor which can pull together all these struggles.

He has managed to gain support going beyond the lower middle class and penetrating into some of the more elite, white portions of the working class.

But it is the lower middle class not the working class that is his base. He only got a minority of votes from those below the median level of income even among those who voted.

Just because the working class is against Trump, it doesn't mean it automatically takes strong actions given the weakness of the organised working class in the US.

The emphasis of resistance at the moment is mainly on race and immigration, but it is too partial and limited.

The mainstream liberals have taken up a defensive position over the Trump question and are backing down, conceding all but the most extreme actions.

It look like they're resisting, but they're actually retreating in the face of Trump's attacks.

When you have families in cages just because they are undocumented and without legal rights, you can tell it like it is—call them concentration camps.

What's not getting stressed

DAVID STEVENS

Democratic Socialists of America, California

WE ARE taking part in actions against Trump's policies. We are also promoting socialist candidates in our upcoming elections.

We have Jovanka Beckles, a member of our local Democratic Socialists of America branch, who is running for a seat in the California Assembly. We are canvassing and phone banking to help her advance from the primary election.

She is running against a well-funded corporate Democrat. We will beat money power with people power.

We have made trips to the State Capitol to provide support and protest for progressive legislation.

I see these as complementary activities.

ANLIN WANG

Philadelphia Abolish Ice

THE OCCUPY Ice protests in Philadelphia have involved hundreds of people. At the biggest point the estimates ranged from 600-800.

Just a few months ago, almost no congressional candidates or representatives were calling to abolish Ice.

Now the most well known congressional candidate in the country, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, is calling to abolish Ice as have several sitting congresspeople. Last week, no Senators were calling to abolish Ice, now we have three.

The protests have shifted public opinion and pressured elected officials to join our calls to defund an out of control deportation agency.

This is not the first time that people have protested against Ice. Immigrant rights advocates have been doing this work for years.

What is new is that left organisations are forming broad coalitions in solidarity for immigrant rights.

WHAT WE STAND FOR

These are the core politics of the Socialist Workers Party.

INDEPENDENT WORKING CLASS ACTION

Under capitalism workers' labour creates all profit. A socialist society can only be constructed when the working class seizes control of the means of production and democratically plans how they are used.

REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed as the established Labour and trade union leaders say.

It has to be overthrown. Capitalism systematically degrades the natural world. Ending environmental crisis means creating a new society.

THERE IS NO PARLIAMENTARY ROAD

The structures of the present parliament, army, police and judiciary cannot be taken over and used by the working class. They grew up under capitalism and are designed to protect the ruling class against the workers.

The working class needs an entirely different kind of state—a workers' state based upon councils of workers' delegates and a workers' militia.

At most parliamentary activity can be used to make propaganda against the present system.

Only the mass action of the workers themselves can destroy the system.

INTERNATIONALISM

The struggle for socialism is part of a worldwide struggle. We campaign for solidarity with workers in other countries.

We oppose everything which turns workers from one country against those from other countries.

We oppose racism and imperialism. We oppose all immigration controls.

We support the right of black people and other oppressed groups to organise their own defence. We support all genuine national liberation movements.

The experience of Russia demonstrates that a socialist revolution cannot survive in isolation in one country.

In Russia the result was state capitalism, not socialism. In Eastern Europe and China a similar system was later established by Stalinist parties. We support the struggle of workers in these countries against both private and state capitalism.

We are for real social, economic and political equality of women. We are for an end to all forms of discrimination against lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender people.

We defend the right of believers to practise their religion without state interference.

THE REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To achieve socialism the most militant sections of the working class have to be organised into a revolutionary socialist party.

Such a party can only be built by activity in the mass organisations of the working class.

We have to prove in practice to other workers that reformist leaders and reformist ideas are opposed to their own interests. We have to build a rank and file movement within the unions.

To join us, turn to page 16 or go to www.swp.org.uk or phone 020 7840 5602 for more information

{ SOCIALIST WORKER } PUBLIC MEETINGS

Huddersfield

'Kill all the Gentlemen'

Wed 18 Jul, 6.30pm,
Brian Jackson House,
2 New North Parade (near
both train and bus stations),
HD1 5JP.

Book launch with author
Martin Empson

NORWICH

How do we stop the rise of racism and the fascist far right?

Thu 2 Aug, 7.30pm,
Vauxhall Centre,
Johnson Place,
NR2 2SA

{ SOCIALIST WORKER } BRANCH MEETINGS

Weekly meetings to discuss political issues and our local interventions. All welcome.

BARNLEY

What are the causes of gun and knife crime?

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
YMCA,
Blucher St, S70 1AP

BIRMINGHAM

The far right in Europe — is fascism back?

Wed 18 Jul, 7pm,
Birmingham LGBT Centre,
38/40 Holloway Circus,
B1 1EQ

BOLTON

1968 — the year the world caught fire

Wed 25 Jul, 7pm,
Bolton Socialist Club,
16 Wood St (off
Bradshawgate), BL1 1DY

BRADFORD

Stephen Lawrence 25 years on — police, racism and the state

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Glyde House,
Little Horton Lane
(opposite the ice rink),
BD5 0BQ

BRISTOL

The economics and politics of migration

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
YHA,
14 Narrow Quay,
BS1 4QA

BURNLEY AND PENDLE

How can we stop the rise of the far right across Europe?

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Red Triangle Cafe,
160 St James's St,
BB11 1NR

CHESTERFIELD

After Trump's visit — the battle for the future

Thu 19 Jul, 7.30pm,
Chesterfield Library,
New Beetwell St,
S40 1QN

COLCHESTER

Is Corbynism in retreat?

Thu 26 Jul, 8pm,
Hythe Community Centre,
1 Ventura Drive,
CO1 2FG



Ukip and alt right supporters on a Democratic Football Lads Alliance rally

PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

Trump, racism and the far right — how can we turn the tide?

BRIGHTON & HOVE

Thu 19 Jul, 7.30pm,
Friends Meeting House,
Ship St, BN1 1AF

CARDIFF

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Cathays Community Centre,
Cathays Terrace,
CF24 4HX

HULL

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Cafe Licious,
104 Cottingham Rd,
HU6 7RZ

COVENTRY

Marx@200 — the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
The Golden Cross,
8 Hay Ln,
CV1 5RF

DUNDEE

Marx@200 — the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx

Tue 17 Jul, 7.30pm,
Dundee Voluntary Action,
10 Constitution Rd,
DD1 1LL

EDINBURGH

Palestine in the era of Donald Trump

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Friends Meeting House,
7 Victoria St,
EH1 2JL

GLASGOW

Sanctions and Universal Credit — the Tories' war on the poor

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Avant Garde,
33-44 King St,
Merchant City,
G1 5QT

PLYMOUTH

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Quaker House,
74 Mutley Plain,
PL4 6LF

ROTHERHAM

Wed 18 Jul, 7pm,
Talbot Lane Methodist
Church Centre,
Moorgate St,
S60 2EY

SWANSEA

Thu 19 Jul, 7.30pm,
Brynmill Community Centre,
St Albans Rd,
SA2 0BP

TELFORD

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Carriages,
The Parade,
Wellington,
TF1 1PY

LEEDS: CITY CENTRE

Trump — real wars and trade wars

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
The Swarthmore
Education Centre,
2-7 Woodhouse Square,
LS3 1AD

LONDON: HACKNEY

Labour and Brexit — what do we say?

Thu 19 Jul, 7.30pm,
The Round Chapel,
2 Powerscroft Rd (corner
Lower Clapton Rd),
E5 0PU

LONDON: HARINGEY

The rise of the far right across Europe — is fascism back?

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
St John Vianney Church Hall,
386 West Green Rd
(corner Vincent Rd),
N15 3QH

LONDON: ISLINGTON

Who decides when we can have free speech?

Wed 18 Jul, 7pm,
The Old Fire Station,
84 Mayton St,
N7 6QT

LONDON: LEWISHAM

Marx@200 — the revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
West Greenwich Community
and Arts Centre,
141 Greenwich High Rd,
SE10 8JA

LONDON: SOUTH

Should all the statues fall — the legacy of slavery

Wed 18 Jul, 7pm,
Vida Walsh Centre,
Brixton, SW2 1EP

LONDON: WALTHAM FOREST

The Middle East — imperialism in action

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
William Morris
Community Centre,
6-8 Greenleaf Rd, E17 6QQ

LONDON: WEST

Was Karl Marx right?

Thu 19 Jul, 7.30pm,
Woodlane Community Centre,
78 White City Cl,
Shepherd's Bush, W12 7DZ

NEWCASTLE

Racism, resistance and revolution

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Commercial Union House,
39 Pilgrim St, NE1 6QE

NORWICH

How do we fight to save the NHS, 70 years after it was founded?

Thu 19 Jul, 7.30pm,
Vauxhall Centre,
Johnson Place, NR2 2SA

OXFORD

1968 — the year the world caught fire

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Restore Building,
Manzil Way, OX4 1YH

POOLE AND DORCHESTER

After the Irish referendum — where next in the fight for abortion rights?

Tue 17 Jul, 7pm,
Dorford Centre,
2 Bridport Rd,
DT1 1RR

PORTSMOUTH

How do we resist the Tories' offensive on working class people?

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Somerstown
Community Centre,
River's St, PO5 4EZ

SCARBOROUGH

1968 — the year the world caught fire

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Tap and Spile,
94 Falsgrave Rd, YO12 5AZ

SHEFFIELD: CITY CENTRE

Do we need violence to get real social change?

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Central United
Reformed Church,
60 Norfolk St, S1 2JB

WIGAN

How do we resist the Tories' offensive?

Thu 19 Jul, 7pm,
Little Fifteen pub,
17-19 Wallgate, WN1 1LD

WOLVERHAMPTON

AND WALSALL

Trump, Iran and the threat of wider war

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Wild Bytes Cafe,
Darlington St, WV1 4HW

YORK

What do socialists say about free speech?

Wed 18 Jul, 7.30pm,
Sea Horse Hotel,
4 Fawcett St,
YO10 4AH

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Decriminalise graffiti now—no more deaths on tracks

Graffiti writer **A Dee** spoke to Socialist Worker about the recent deaths of artists Trip, Lover, and KBag and what they show about the state's policy

THREE GRAFFITI artists were killed on rail tracks at Loughborough Junction in south London in the early hours of 19 June.

Dozens of tributes were sprayed beside train tracks, on trains and walls after the deaths of Trip, Lover and KBag.

Their deaths have been quickly forgotten by the mainstream press, but they raise serious questions about the way people who commit non-violent "crimes" are treated.

South London graffiti artist Artful Dodger (A Dee) put the deaths, and the state's response to them, in context. "We live in a country which puts property and profit above the value of human life," he told Socialist Worker.

"If you kill someone through drink driving, chances are you'll get a lesser, or suspended sentence."

By contrast, those caught painting trains have the book thrown at them. Custodial sentences are common.

The Tory former Transport for London (TfL) chairperson Brian Cooke was in no doubt. Almost immediately after the tragedy he branded the dead as "scum".

"Why do BBC News keep referring to the guys killed at Loughborough Junction as graffiti 'artists'?" he tweeted. "They are no such thing they are common scum."

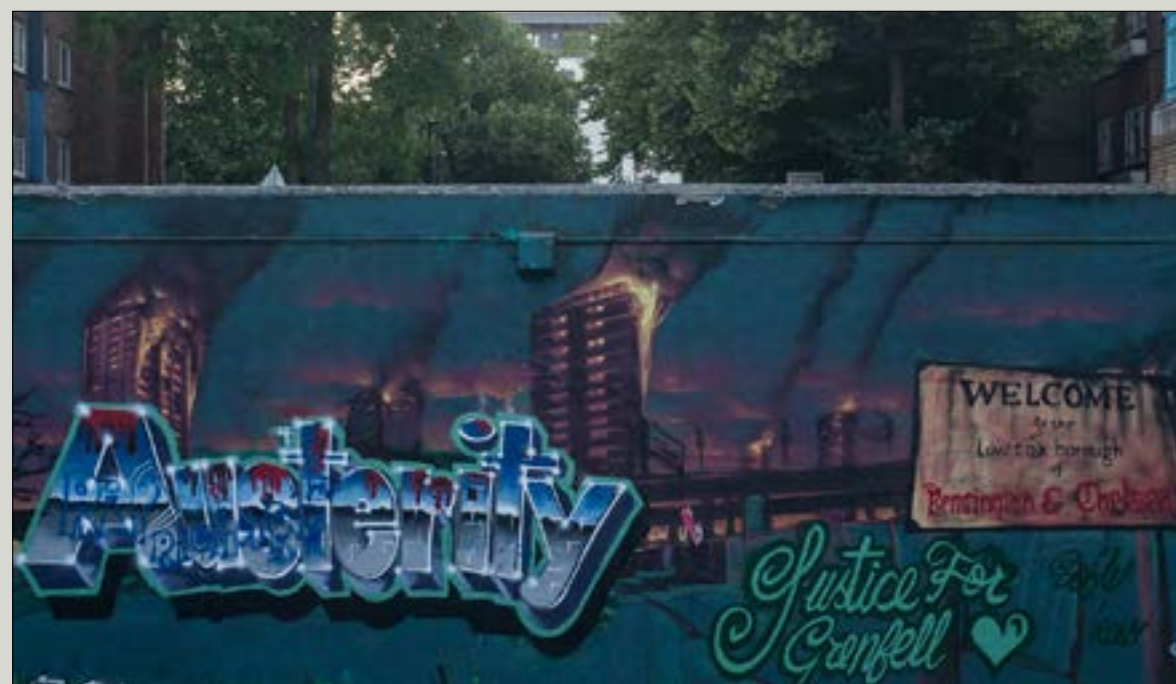
Control

A Dee's tribute to the three writers attacked Cooke (see below right).

"There's almost no chance of graffiti becoming legal because it's about the state having control," he said. "Graffiti can't be easily sanitised or brought under control so it will remain illegal."

A Dee was critical of some of those who produce street art, as opposed to graffiti writers such as those who died. "If you look back to the 1960s

Grenfell



GRAFFITI WRITERS organised commemorative graffiti gatherings to coincide with the anniversary of the Grenfell Tower block fire on 14 June. Famous London graffiti writers such as Mr Met and Zomb have painted pieces at the foot of nearby Trellick Tower. Others have paid their respect with pieces at the Stockwell Hall of Fame in south London (pictured above). Go to see the touching tributes before they are painted over.

PICTURES: GUY SMALLMAN

and 70s there was a lot more of a social focus," he said.

"You could say street art was more political then," he argued, making the point that art reflects the society it is produced in.

"Now there's more of a sense that people are doing street art in order to be seen as edgy artists—almost like a career choice."

A Dee criticised artists like Banksy who are self-referential and poke fun, but have been accepted by the art world.

Brian Cooke was the extreme end of a drive to portray the dead writers as criminals.

Goalposts

By focusing on old arguments about why graffiti should be illegal, the goalposts were moved by those who wanted to avoid wider questions about society.

At the more subtle end of that argument came TfL director of compliance Steve Burton

"Graffiti results in trains being taken out of service, causing delays to our customers and costing TfL thousands of pounds to remove," he said.

It's a common argument that



A Dee's depiction of Tory Brian Cooke

people would rather see large, colourful pieces rather than tags and chrome "throw ups".

But writers do not have the opportunity to become better in expensive isolated studio space, and are forced to develop in public spaces.

To say, "Some, but not all" graffiti is fine essentially gives an amount of control to the state to decide what should stay and what should be

removed. Or who should be prosecuted and who should be feted.

A Dee suggested that there could be referenda or polls on graffiti policies.

He said, "TfL say they care about what transport users think—why not ask them?"

And why should it be removed if it is not offensive? Graffiti should be decriminalised.

EXHIBITION

THE LIST

Banu Cennetoglu
Chisenhale Gallery,
Chisenhale Road,
London E3 5QZ.
Until 26 August.
chisenhale.org.uk

THE LIST on display at the Chisenhale Gallery documents the refugees who have died at the hands of the European Union's "Fortress Europe" immigration policy since 1993.

Most recently published in The Guardian newspaper on World Refugee Day last month, the tally of known deaths has reached 34,361.

After Turkish artist Banu Cennetoglu saw the database in 2002, she has worked to disseminate it across the world.

"People should be able

Artist Banu Cennetoglu

to see it despite themselves and despite that they are caught up in their daily lives," she said.

She decided to use the resources available to her as an artist to get it in the public eye.

In 2007 it was displayed in 110 outdoor advertising signs across Amsterdam.

Since then it has been distributed via 150 outdoor advertising boards in Istanbul.

And it was also translated into German and displayed as part of a poster campaign in 72 locations.

The List makes very difficult and distressing reading. We hear all too often of migrants deaths, but The List turns them from faceless individuals to real people with names, ages and gender. Others are listed as NN (not known).

I'm pleased that the Chisenhale is promoting The List. But I'm even more pleased that it will be displayed across Merseyside in a collaboration with Mersey Travel.

If you're not able to go to the gallery or Merseyside you can access the list on the website below.

Maggie Falshaw

unitedagainstracism.org

A Dee's previous work attacked French police for raping a young man in Paris

IF WE'RE socialists, we're internationalists," MP Alex Sobel told a meeting of Labour Party members recently.

That's why—he argued—Labour has to come out in favour of stopping Brexit.

Some left wing figures feel that the European Union (EU) embodies the progressive values of international solidarity and cooperation.

It can certainly seem better than the racist and xenophobic nationalism of high profile Tory Brexiters Boris Johnson and Jacob Rees-Mogg.

So MPs such as Sobel talk about the EU as if it fits with the left wing tradition of internationalism.

This is the idea that working class people across the world are united by the same exploitation—so their struggles must be united too.

But if the EU really is internationalist, why does it cut deals to shut refugees out of Europe? Why does it lock them up in camps, deport them or leave them to drown in the Mediterranean?

There's another, more sophisticated, version of the left Remain argument.

This version accepts that the EU is guilty of drowning refugees, of punishing Greek workers with austerity, and of driving privatisation and cuts.

But it says the answer is for left wing forces to work together inside the EU's structures to reform it.

Defence

This is a more serious appeal to internationalism in defence of the EU. But it's not the same as the internationalism that has united working class struggles across borders for nearly two centuries.

When the revolutionary Karl Marx wrote about internationalism, he saw how industry and finance grew beyond borders and spread across the world as capitalism developed.

This expansion brought the biggest capitalist powers into conflict as they competed to dominate new markets.

But Marx also saw how the growth of capitalism was creating a global working class—one that could unite across borders against its rulers.

In 1870 two major powers—France and the German state Prussia—went to war. Both governments tried to rally support for the war with patriotism, jingoism and nationalism.

Yet in both countries, branches of the First International, which united trade unions and left wing groups in different countries, opposed this.

In France the International released a statement. "French, German, Spanish workmen! Let us unite in one cry of reprobation against war!



PROTESTERS IN London showing solidarity with Palestine in April PICTURE: GUY SMALLMAN

A TRADITION OF GLOBAL SOLIDARITY

Some on the left argue that defending the EU is about the values of cooperation. But, as Nick Clark argues, the history of international working class struggle is very different

"Brothers in Germany! Our division would result in the complete triumph of despotism on both sides of the Rhine."

Marx said the statement "expressed the true sentiment of French working people," as large working class demonstrations demanded peace.

In Germany, the working class organisations did the same.

One mass meeting declared, "We shall never forget that the workmen of all countries are

our friends and the despots of all countries our enemies."

The statements and demonstrations weren't enough to stop the war. But they are an early example of how working class people tried to unite across borders through their own organisations and activities.

The internationalist ideal behind them was soon realised in the Paris Commune.

Workers took control of the French capital in March 1871. They were furious at the

appalling living conditions created by the war and the way France's rulers had sacrificed thousands of workers.

The city's new democratic ruling body, the Commune, was made up of working class people. It elected people from all over Europe to its highest positions.

The best socialists have always acted in this spirit. During the 1917 Russian Revolution the socialist Bolshevik party fought to end the First World War and for freedom for countries colonised by Russia's empire.

This internationalism wasn't just a nice socialist ideal. The Bolsheviks knew that because capitalism is international, the struggle against it must be too.

The revolution had to spill beyond Russia if it was to survive—and it did inspire revolts across the globe.

THAT shared struggle was all the more significant in the face of the failure of other so-called socialist parties in Europe to unite against the war.

Before the war, all the left wing parties in Europe vowed to oppose it. But many of them looked to parliament—rather than ordinary people—to bring change.

The problem with this is that the capitalist state is an instrument of class rule.

Its health relies on a "strong" capitalist economy in competition with others. And managing that state means defending its interests against its rivals.

So when the war began the left parties supported it to defend their countries' "national interests".

Left supporters of the EU today share more of this attitude than they may think.

Rather than unity in struggle between ordinary people across different countries, they look to deals and lash-ups between political parties inside an existing, capitalist organisation.

Members of the EU—even if they have left wing governments—don't represent working class people. They're there to act on behalf of their own national capitalist interests.

The EU was set up on that basis. After the Second World War, Europe's rulers realised their interests were in clubbing together as an economic bloc in competition with Stalinist Russia.

They formed the European Coal and Steel Community in 1953, then the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1957.

This was always about facilitating trade between EEC members and pushing their interests outside Europe—never internationalism.

The Maastricht Treaty transformed the EEC into the EU in 1993. Its rules, which all members have to follow, enforce privatisation and spending limits.

When Eastern European states tried to join the EU after the collapse of Stalinist Russia, they first had to implement strict pro-market economic changes. These were closely monitored and policed by EU bodies and officials.

The EU has also used its economic weight to force its members' interests on countries outside Europe. In 2015, for instance, the EU imposed heavy import taxes on Kenya to bully its government into signing a trade deal.

This role of the EU means that, when faced with resistance to austerity or the refugee "crisis," it acts in an appalling and brutal way.

At the onset of the economic crisis, the EU gave "bailouts" to countries such as Greece, on the condition that they push austerity and privatisation.

When people in Greece elected a left government to end austerity, EU rulers feared that people in other European countries would follow.

So they threatened the Greek government with economic catastrophe unless it accepted even harsher austerity measures.

Yet the EU is becoming increasingly divided over how to deal with the refugee crisis.

The EU's international "unity" is exposed as a myth as its members come into conflict in defence of their own capitalist interests.

Any left wing force that wants to change the EU will have to face the undemocratic laws and institutions that make reform impossible. And they'll also have to deal with the fact that they're there to manage nation states with interests of their own.

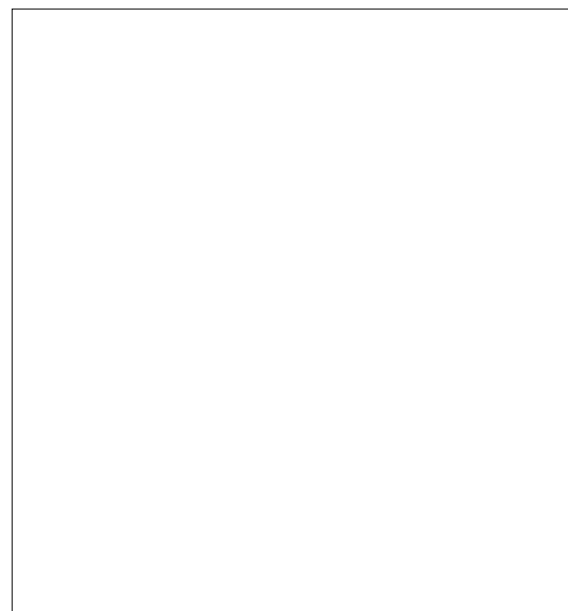
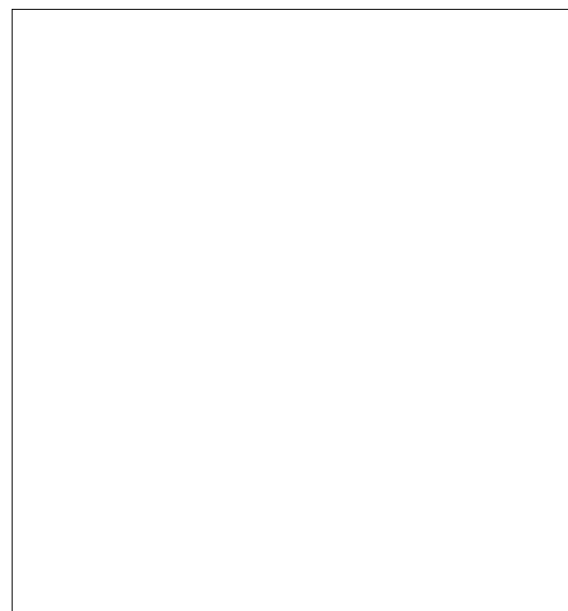
Is the alternative isolation and nationalism? Not really. The other sort of internationalism—solidarity between working class people—didn't end with the Russian Revolution.

Ordinary people have always taken action in support of others elsewhere.

Some recent examples include the massive demonstrations against the Iraq War, against bombing Syria, or in support of Palestinians and refugees.

Or take the reaction to Donald Trump's "Muslim ban". When Trump imposed restrictions on people from certain Muslim countries entering the US, there were major demonstrations across the world.

The big protests set to take



PROTESTS took place around the world against Donald Trump's Muslim ban, including in London (top), and people in Madrid protested in solidarity with Catalonia (above)

place when Trump visits this week will be another example of this.

None of these have needed to work through nation states or the EU. In fact when ordinary people score victories against their own rulers, this can inspire people elsewhere to fight and do the same.

When Greek people overwhelmingly rejected yet another EU austerity bailout in a 2015 referendum, everyone fighting austerity in Britain and across Europe cheered.

Internationalism means organising struggles against the forces of austerity, privatisation and racism wherever we can—including those that want to rescue the EU.

That sort of internationalism offers a real alternative to war, racism and austerity.

READ MORE

● **The internationalist case against the EU** ISJ article by Alex Callinicos bit.ly/casenoEU

● **The EU referendum—the case for a socialist Yes vote** ISJ article by John Palmer bit.ly/caseyesEU

● **Only taking the revolution beyond Russia could save it from attack** Socialist Worker article bit.ly/Russiaspread

Available at Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to bookmarksbookshop.co.uk



How a general strike shook the British state in 1918

The 1918 Isle of Man general strike showed the power of organised workers, says John Callow

ON 4 July 1918 a red flag flew from Tynwald Hill on the Isle of Man. All transport stopped, the lights went out, shops shut and ports closed.

The crowds on the streets of the capital Douglas grew in numbers and confidence as the hours went by.

Farm labourers joined the strike in the north and women stocking knitters came out in support in the south.

A 48-hour general strike had begun. It became the only successful general strike waged—to date—in the islands of Great Britain and Ireland.

The Strike Committee ensured that essential food supplies were delivered to the poor, the old and the hungry.

A coal yard that tried to break the picket lines found itself under siege and its gates stormed by protesters.

Retired naval officer Captain Moughtin tried to coordinate strike breakers. He was dragged from his office and mauled by the crowd.

Everywhere, women were reported to be particularly prominent in the protests, together with wounded ex-servicemen.

And the police force openly fraternised with strikers while some serving officers joined the demonstrations.

The First World War had widened the gulf between rich and poor.

Fortunes

Profiteers flourished and considerable fortunes were made from the conflict.

Yet unskilled labourers, farm and shop workers and many tourism workers faced ruin. Wages were frozen, the holiday trade ended and food prices rose by more than 60 percent on pre-1914 levels.

More than 300 older women and men received poor relief in Douglas. In rural communities, starvation threatened. It did not have to be that way. The free



STRIKERS PROTESTING at Tynwald Hill

market ideology espoused by the island's governor, Lord Raglan, exacerbated hardships and highlighted the lack of democratic accountability.

The territory was directly controlled by the Crown, as opposed to the Westminster parliament. As British law did not apply, chancellor Lloyd George's budgetary reforms of 1909 weren't enacted on Man.

There were no pensions or direct taxation on income.

Revenues were collected indirectly through tariffs on food stuffs.

And exporting food to the rest of Britain put staple foodstuffs beyond the reach of growing numbers.

Raglan's decision to withdraw the subsidy on bread ignited the general strike, with bakeries declaring that they could no longer afford to produce loaves.

The reach, breadth, solidarity and swiftness of the strike took the authorities completely by surprise. Control of the island began to fall to the Strike Committee.

This was led by the Workers' Union, which

“The reach and swiftness of the strike took the authorities by surprise

represented an impressive alliance of unions.

Union density had been rising dramatically since the spring of 1917 under the energetic leadership of print worker Alf Teare.

Syndicalism

Teare, together with young activist Harry Emery, was committed to a form of industrial syndicalism.

This espoused direct action and sought political solutions to economic grievances.

It was immediately understood, and celebrated, by trade unionists across the Isle.

Fisher folk negotiated their catches with the Strike Committee and pledged to deliver fish to the families of strikers. A handful of returning holiday makers—but no goods—were shipped back to Liverpool.

Optimism and an almost carnival spirit hung in the air.

Raglan's administration crumbled and conceded to the Strike Committee's demands on the afternoon of 5 July.

The victory democratised taxation, swept away the high-handed administration of Lord Raglan, enabled the payment of pensions and prevented starvation.

It also shook the British government and forced its hand in entrusting the Ministry of Food to a trade unionist, J.R. Clynes.

A century later, the strike is a cause for pride—not just for those on the Isle but for all who believe in economic and political democracy.

Sirona workers strike against pay cuts

by SARAH BATES

CARE WORKERS in Bath and North East Somerset are striking against pay cuts.

Some 120 workers at Sirona care homes struck for 24 hours on Tuesday and were set to walk out on Thursday of this week for 12 hours.

The Unison union members are fighting plans to restructure working patterns so carers would “owe” bosses 30 minutes of work per shift.

Management have said workers could take the equivalent pay cut or accrue hours and work a shift, effectively for free.

Support

After hearing about the plans, workers returned a 95 per cent vote for strikes.

Andy McGuinness has worked as a care support worker at Sirona for three years and is a Unison rep.

He told Socialist Worker, “I would have two hours unpaid breaks every week, and they were trying to give me 13 extra shifts a year.” The cuts

BACK STORY

Bosses have tried to make workers work 30 minutes more on every shift

● Workers voted by 95 percent to strike against the proposal

● Unison has shown that bosses do not need to make the cuts

ON THE Sirona care workers' picket line

from Sirona—who boast of “competitive salaries and flexible working options”—leave many workers worrying about how to manage their lives.

“A lot of Sirona workers are women”, said Andy.

“They’re still carers in their homes, and women tend to

the ones who are looking after their elderly relatives.”

Bosses say they are making cuts because Bath and North East Somerset council—which has over £12 million in general reserves—has cut £215,000 funding to Sirona.

“They’re making the cut from us, but Sirona directors

earn a lot more than front line staff,” said Andy. He explained that Unison have looked at firm’s figures and say there is money that could be used to plug the funding gap.

He argued the attacks are partly because of a legacy of Tory austerity, which has left

local authorities devastated by years of cuts and privatisation. Andy pointed out that some departments “aren’t really functioning anymore.”

The strikes are an escalation from earlier action which saw workers walk out for two hours at a time.

Andy said the first strike was a “complete buzz, it felt great to be taking action, and actually quite empowering.

“But then we went to two hours and hit a bit of a low.”

Planning

Last week carers rejected the bosses’ latest offer to pay a year’s worth of unpaid breaks in a lump sum.

Andy says workers told them to “stuff it” and are planning to continue the fight.

But he said bosses are threatening to sack workers unless they concede.

“They said the next phase is to dismissal and re-engagement, but it would be a mistake for them to do that.”

Donate to the strike fund—cheques made payable to Unison B&NES c/o Unison South West, Vintry House, Wine Street, Bristol BS21 2BD

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The alternative to a world in crisis—Marxism 2018

As the centre collapses, racism rises and revolts burst out across the globe, thousands came to debate how to push back the right—and build the left

THE MARXISM 2018 festival, hosted by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), took place last week in a context of deepening political polarisation across the world.

Meetings grappled with how the collapse of mainstream politics has fuelled the rise of the far right—but has also created opportunities for the radical left.

At a meeting on the Windrush scandal and “Britishness”, anti-racist activist Weyman Bennett argued that “a crisis of the extreme centre” has led mainstream politicians to turn on migrants, refugees and Muslims.

Latifa Abouchakra an NEU teachers’ union member, told the opening rally, “With the white working class, they’re told the reason they’re short of money is because the Muslims and the immigrants are here.”

In a meeting on Donald Trump’s trade wars, Alex Callinicos said Trump represented a response that is not wedded to neoliberalism. He warned that the far right have taken the opportunity to grow from Trump’s policies.

A lively debate over the racist US president’s politics sprang up at a panel meeting on the resistance to Trump.

Contended

US Marxist John Bellamy Foster argued that Trump was a “neo-fascist”—which he contended was different to “traditional” fascism.

He pointed out that Trump’s support comes from the same social base as does fascists—the middle classes.

However, people pointed out that neither Trump nor the Republican Party is aligned to a street movement, as is the case with fascist parties. All



PART OF the audience at a Marxism 2018 meeting

PICTURE: JO HOLLAND

attending agreed that the need to confront the fascists on the streets was of paramount importance.

Other discussions focused on how the left can use the political crisis to build an alternative.

In a meeting on revolutionary politics in the era of Corbyn, Socialist Worker editor Charlie Kimber said, “In a time of polarisation, the right remains in most places stronger than the left.

“There is a massive sense of urgency, but it is possible to throw off attacks.” One Labour Party member

said there was “a lot of debate and argument going on in the Labour Party” about what a Corbyn-led government should do.

He added that shadow chancellor John McDonnell was “preparing and strategising” for an assault on the government by big business.

The discussion continued in a debate between SWP industrial organiser Mark L Thomas and author, Momentum member and activist Mark Perryman.

Perryman said that Corbyn victory would be a “break with the neoliberal

consensus” and that “the next general election will be one of historic proportions.”

He said that’s why the most important thing was to canvas to make sure Labour could win in key marginal seats at the next election.

But Thomas said mass struggle outside would be crucial to beat off the onslaught on Corbyn if Labour got elected.

He warned that the logic of electoralism could lead the Labour left to prioritise elections instead of building that crucial resistance now.

Fighting against oppression

FIGHTING oppression was a central theme in many of the discussions.

At a meeting on fighting sexism and the system, young women spoke about the difficulties of tackling sexual harassment in schools.

And in a meeting about Islamophobia and child abuse, social worker Bea Kay argued, “Child abuse is about our material conditions, and our material conditions are getting worse.”

Bea looked at the racist response to the child sexual exploitation scandal in Rotherham. And she said banning young women wearing the hijab at school is a safeguarding issue.

Education workers spoke out,

saying, “The Prevent agenda is giving ammunition to the far right by whipping up racism.”

Speakers at the opening and closing rallies included Siomha Hennessy, Mary Smith and Tina MacVeigh who were all involved in campaign for the recent victory on abortion rights in Ireland.

Tina pointed to new struggles ahead—such as on pay inequality, unemployment and sexist legislation.

She said, “On the back of this we have to push forward the fight for real change for our economic, social and cultural needs.”

Windrush Generation migrant Eleanor Peterson and Janet Alder, sister of Christopher Alder who died in police custody, also spoke.

‘I refuse to sit and wait’

DEBATES AND discussions also looked at how to build resistance in the workplaces.

The opening rally heard from Wigan hospital striker Dave and Shen Batmaz, who was one of the leaders of the first McDonald’s strike in British history.

Shen kicked off the evening with a rallying cry that workers can change the world.

“I refuse to sit and wait for one man in the Labour Party to change it for us,” she said.

“I refuse to be told we can’t change it for ourselves.”

Bfawu union national president Ian Hodson joined a debate on Labour and the unions on Friday

evening. Hodson stressed the need to fight now, not just wait for a Labour government.

“As important as it is to have a Labour leader who recognises socialism, it’s the movement we have to build,” he said.

Other speakers included Karen Reissmann, an SWP member on the Unison union national executive (pc), and Sean Vernell an SWP member on the UCU union national executive.

Karen said that activists should use the Wigan hospital workers’ result to build struggles in their own workplaces.

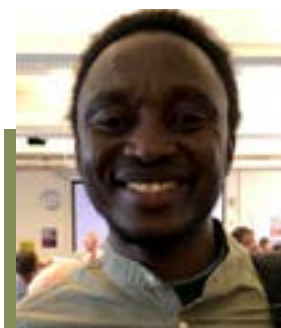
“The only way to beat them is to be confrontational,” she said.



Mandy Buckley
Birmingham
home care worker

WHEN I came to Marxism, I didn’t know what to expect, but this is like my university.

You meet inspiring and amazing people. It’s like a new energy has been put inside me.



Joshua Agbo
Activist from
Cambridge

IT’S THE second time I’ve been to Marxism. It’s a place where you can understand the politics of Marxism and why the world is how it is.

You also learn about how the working class can rise up and how we can change the world.



Isabel Ringrose
Student in York

MARXISM IS a good way to meet new people and come across new ideas. I enjoyed the meeting on fighting sexism.

I’ve loved being here because everyone gets a chance to have a say.

IN BRIEF

Swansea postal workers ballot

A BALLOT for strikes among postal workers in Swansea was set to end on Thursday of this week.

Members of the CWU union working at a Royal Mail delivery office are voting for strikes after a long standing colleague, Martin Henwood, was sacked.

Sheffield trams walkout for pay

SHEFFIELD'S supertram ground to a halt on Monday when 200 workers struck over pay.

The drivers and conductors are fighting a three-year pay offer that would mean just 26p extra an hour.

The Unite union members also planned to walk out this Thursday—and again for a 72-hour strike from 20 July.

This coincides with the Tramlines music festival.

Unite regional coordinating officer Steve Clark said, "Unless the company comes up with a substantial cash offer for our hardworking members, more strikes during July are definitely on the cards."

Tube strike on day of Trump visit

LONDON Underground workers on the Piccadilly Line were set to strike for 52 hours from 9pm on Wednesday of this week until 1am on Saturday.

The RMT union members are fighting to make bosses employ more drivers and address concerns with ageing train stock.

The action will coincide with US president Donald Trump's visit to Britain.

Corbyn speaks to union conference

THE UNITE union policy conference heard from Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn in Brighton last week.

Corbyn said, "We need to do far more to deliver for workers."

And he declared, "Real transformative change is needed now more than any other time in my lifetime."

Delegates also debated how to fight Labour councils implementing austerity, expulsions in the Labour Party and gender identity.

Almost 300 delegates signed a Stand Up To Racism statement opposing Donald Trump and Tommy Robinson.

Luton Airport braced for action

BAGGAGE HANDLERS at London Luton Airport have voted to reject a new pay offer from bosses Menzies Aviation.

The Unite union members are now set to strike from 2am on 20 July until 2pm on 22 July.

RESTAURANT WORKERS



THE UNITE union held protests across 30 sites of the TGI Fridays restaurant chain on Wednesday of last week. It was part of its campaign for fair tips, which saw workers at four stores strike last month

PICTURE: RAFAEL SANCHIS-PALOP

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Council bosses on the run after joint action

COORDINATED industrial action by the Unison, Unite and GMB unions is piling pressure onto East Dunbartonshire council near Glasgow.

Council services were rocked by a four-day strike last month—and now 800 workers are working to rule.

Bin collections, libraries, museums, art galleries and cemeteries have been affected. And now waste and recycling workers were set to walk out for four days from Thursday.

The Tory/Lib Dem-run council wants to axe three days' holiday allowance, slash unsocial hours pay, remove enhanced overtime and reduce redundancy payments.

Unite convenor Tommy Robertson said, "Staff have already endured cutbacks and are expected to provide services at the same levels."

The overtime ban means that some council services have been shut entirely. And last month many council services—



GUNNING FOR the bosses. East Dunbartonshire workers on the picket line last month

PICTURE: EAST DUNBARTONSHIRE UNISON

including all schools and nurseries—closed because of the solid strike.

East Dunbartonshire Unison said the work to rule was causing "a lot of disruption".

"Members aren't undertaking tasks they haven't been trained for and are not doing overtime," it said.

"Social workers are not

using their own cars or doing extra hours."

Coordinated strikes can stop the council cuts.

●Donations to the strike fund. Sort code 08 06 01 Account number 20075332. Please email Janice.Campbell@eastdunbarton.gov.uk if you make a payment to the fund by BACS

NURSERIES

Union slams plan for nursery closures

LABOUR-RUN Tower Hamlets council is set to close all three local authority-run nurseries in the east London borough.

Mary Sandbrook nursery would close at the end of next month and John Smith and Overland nurseries in the first half of 2019. This

will plunge families into desperate circumstances and see 27 nursery workers lose their jobs.

Mayor John Biggs said childcare in the borough needed "rethinking of how to meet those needs, fairly and maximising benefits for all".

But these services are

desperately needed—as the waiting list of 125 children shows.

The Tower Hamlets Unison union branch said, "They provide affordable childcare for some of the borough's most vulnerable children and demand for a place is very high."

NHS PAY OFFER

THE GMB union has announced that it will hold a consultative ballot of health workers for industrial action over pay.

It follows members rejecting the Tories' shoddy pay deal by 87 percent. A 6.5

percent pay rise across three years is still below-inflation.

The offer also ties incremental pay progression to performance-related interviews, opening the door to discrimination. All the other health unions

recommended acceptance to their members.

The GMB result shows that workers are willing to fight when given a lead by the union.

Members should vote yes for industrial action.

SCHOOLS

Springfield teachers start sixth week of rolling strike

NEU UNION members at Springfield Primary School in Birmingham were set to take their 17th, 18th and 19th days of strikes this week.

They have walked out for three days every week against a proposed staffing restructure.

More workers at the school have joined the strike and morale on the picket lines is high. Parents have stood with strikers on the picket line on every strike day singing, "Hey, ho, the restructure has got to go!"

And they have made a banner stating, "We support the strikers."

NEU (NUT section) national president Kiri Tunks visited the picket lines and gave a rousing speech in support of the strike. And Labour councillors Nicky Brennan and Mohammed Fazal have both joined the picket lines on a number of occasions. Workers and



Interim head Robin Grover has lost support

parents have lost all faith in interim head teacher Robin Grover and the interim executive board. And they are concerned that Labour-run Birmingham City Council has allowed Grover to try to drive through the changes. His employment at the school finishes at the end of this academic year.

Workers plan to strike until the end of term.

●Send messages of support to david.room@neu.org.uk

ACADEMIES

Anti-academies campaign keeps up fight in Newham

SUPPORTERS OF Newham Against Academisation last Tuesday lobbied the council to keep its pledge to ballot parents and workers over turning schools into academies.

The Labour-run council in east London made the promise in February after a series of successful strikes over academisation.

The new council cabinet reversed this pledge at a meeting last Tuesday.

The law says decisions lie only with governors.

In a stacked process a few governors, most not elected but appointed for "skills sets" such as financial management, have the power to hand over

the school. And they are not held to account for their decisions.

Newham NEU union branch secretary Louise Cuffaro has written to councillors urging them to support ballots and make governors abide by the results.

Union members and parents know huge education cuts are coming.

Our campaign will need to continue to hold the council to its promises. We need to defend community schools, special educational needs and disability resources and overall education provision in Newham.

Miriam Scharf

EDUCATION ROUND-UP

John Roan steps up fight

WORKERS AT John Roan school in Greenwich, south east London, were set to escalate their action this week.

NEU union members at the school have taken five days of strikes against a plan for the school to join a new academy chain, the University Schools Trust.

GMB union members were set to join a two-day strike this Wednesday.

It means that around 100 workers will take part in the action.

Strikers have already forced the planned academy conversion back. It will now not go ahead in September.

More action can stop the plan altogether.

●Send messages of support to johnroannut@gmail.com

■NASUWT union members at Sunderland's Washington Academy ended a three-day strike last Thursday.

Workers are in dispute over the "failure of the employer to respond to the deep concerns about the culture in which they are expected to work".

NASUWT general secretary Chris Keates said concerns over "pupil indiscipline and excessive workload remain unresolved". Further strikes could follow this month.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Kirklees bin workers vote in favour of all-out strike

by SARAH BATES

STRIKING BIN workers in Kirklees, West Yorkshire, have voted for all-out strikes in their fight for fairer working conditions.

They are set to walk out from 31 July, following a decision taken at a strike meeting on Friday of last week.

Unison union members at bin depots in Huddersfield and Dewsbury finished a fifth day of strikes on Monday of this week. They are in a long-running dispute over allegations of racism and harassment.

The action has devastated bin collections, with no rounds going out from the Huddersfield depot.

The solid strike means that a week's worth of bins are rotting in the hot weather.

But at the Dewsbury depot, GMB and Unite union members are crossing the picket line and doing the rounds.

Adam is a bin worker at the Huddersfield depot. He told Socialist Worker that bosses were "shocked" at the strength of the strike.

Stopped

"Everything has stopped—we've got the upper hand now," he said.

"The picket lines have been brilliant—they've been happy, and everyone's been laughing and joking."

Workers want proper investigations into allegations that a senior manager has been racially abusive.

Strikers also want more workers



KIRKLEES BIN workers could start an all-out strike later this month

recruited to fill two new rounds. This will alleviate the pressure of cuts that forces workers to regularly work an extra day in overtime.

And bosses are denying holidays to workers on the basis that there aren't enough staff to cover shifts.

Nick Ruff, Kirklees Unison chair, spoke to Socialist Worker in a personal capacity. He said, "The strike has been superb."

Bosses offered 30 new jobs—an increase of 25 percent—in an effort

to halt the action. But Nick said, "By management's own reckoning, that's not enough workers to cover the rounds."

Workers unanimously rejected the offer because the roles would only be temporary.

Adam said the struggle to get two new rounds is the "most important" battle to win.

He added that the strikes have rattled the bosses. "They even called the police on us," he said. "They did

a dog patrol and everything." At the Huddersfield depot, Unite members who are road sweepers refused to cross picket lines, and management sent them home.

Adam said their solidarity "was a big boost" to strikers and left them "chuffed to bits".

And he said the action has excited workers so much they want to keep striking until they win.

"I'd rather keep out until it was sorted out," he said.

HOUSING

Protest over Ebury Bridge

CAMPAIGNERS protested outside a meeting of Westminster council on Monday against plans to demolish the Ebury Bridge estate in the London borough.

The council voted through its preferred plan, which involves the complete demolition of the estate.

This will replace existing homes with 750 "residential units". Some 340 will be "affordable", which means rents of up to 80 percent of "market rent" in the area.

Residents backed a 2013 regeneration plan which involved redevelopment and refurbishment.

The council said this wasn't pursued as it couldn't be made "attractive to developers".

It claims there is "full right of return for all existing tenants and leaseholders".

It is not clear whether that will be on secure council tenancies.

Still fighting in Southwark

THE REDEVELOPMENT of the Elephant and Castle shopping centre was granted approval by Southwark council's planning committee on Tuesday 3 July.

Activists and residents protested outside as the vote took place. The decision was carried by four votes to three, with one abstention.

The scheme will see 979 homes built above the new shopping centre.

But just 116 will be for social rents.

Southwark's policy is that 50 percent of any new development has to be for social rents. But developers get around this by claiming it's not "viable" for their profits.

Previous protests forced the council to postpone the decision on planning permission.

More decisions will have to be voted on and more pressure can be put on the council.

Ballot us on regeneration

LAMBETH COUNCIL is set to hold a vote on whether tenants and residents should be balloted over regeneration plans.

The council will debate the motion, proposed by Green Party councillors, on 18 July.

It demands that residents on three estates in the south London borough should be given a vote on council proposals to demolish their estates.

The estates are Cressingham Gardens in Brixton, Central Hill in Crystal Palace and the Fenwick Estate in Clapham.

The vote comes after strong campaigns and protests.

CIVIL SERVICE

Step up the fight for a big yes vote in PCS pay ballot

WITH UNDER two weeks to go until the end of a strike ballot, PCS union activists are working hard to win a resounding yes vote.

Civil service workers in government departments are voting on whether to strike over pay.

Their wages have been held well-below inflation since 2010. Now they are battling to force the Tories to give them a 5 percent pay increase.

PCS activists have found huge anger against low pay wherever they have campaigned—and wide support for strikes.

But the result they need is not in the bag. For a lawful strike vote, at least 50 percent of PCS members

need to vote in the ballot.

That means it can't be business as usual for union reps. Leafleting workplaces is important—but so are creativity, mass members' meetings and meticulous attention to detail.

In some places, campaigning has involved stalls with food at lunchtime, or collective walks to post back ballot papers together.

PCS activists must keep track of who has voted, have as many conversations with members as possible—and draw them into the campaign.

The ballot ends on Monday 23 July. An energetic campaign can deliver a yes vote.

CARE WORKERS

Threat to home care

STRIKES MAY be coming in the Birmingham home care sector as bosses could be ready to attack the home enablement service with a "redesign".

The service supports adults to remain living in their own homes after a hospital discharge.

Home carers have been fighting redundancies and shift changes for over a year. But now workers fear the council wants to bin the service altogether or privatise it.

The Unison union members voted by 97 percent for strikes in June.

Talks were ongoing as Socialist Worker went to press.

Workers should be ready to strike against any attempts to gut the social care sector.

PRIDE IN LONDON

Anger after thousands are kept out of Pride in London

AROUND 30,000 people joined the Pride in London parade last Saturday.

Tens of thousands more lined the route—because official organisers limited the number allowed to march.

Some 20,000 people had their applications rejected in a move that Pride march co-founder Peter Tatchell branded "anti-LGBT+ discrimination".

"It's time to put liberation back at the heart of Pride—to reclaim it as a political march with a party atmosphere," he said.

Those lining the route were young—many of them school children—which showed the potential for a bigger Pride march.

And there was still a sense of freedom among those who

had come out. First-time London Pride-goer Erin told Socialist Worker, "Pride is about love—it is about being able to be yourself."

But Pride should not be relegated to a spectator sport—people should be allowed to participate actively in it.

Hate crime against LGBT+ people is rising and politicians and the press are ramping up bigotry.

Frances has been coming to Pride for the last 32 years since she was 17 years old.

"While I think we're getting there with LGBT+ rights, we're not there yet," she told Socialist Worker.

It's all the more important to have political Prides that are part of fighting for liberation.

MAY IN CRISIS— FORCE HER OUT

by CHARLIE KIMBER

THE RESIGNATIONS of Boris Johnson and David Davis this week have shattered Theresa May's hopes of Tory unity.

She had hoped to assert her authority by forcing a Brexit deal through the cabinet at Chequers last Friday.

That plan lies in tatters.

Johnson and Davis's departures mean there have been eight cabinet minister resignations in as many months. This is another moment of deep crisis for May.

It is possible that May will now face a leadership challenge.

If at least 48 Tory MPs send letters to Sir Graham Brady, the chair of the backbench 1922 Committee, he would have to call a vote of no confidence.

However, many of May's supporters in the parliamentary party believe she could win it.

Davis claimed that May had sold out to the European Union (EU) with her new "soft Brexit" strategy agreed last week. Johnson said

THERESA MAY'S crisis deepened after shadow cabinet resignations this week

Britain was headed "for the status of a colony" if May's plans were adopted.

He had also said that attempts to sell the scheme were like "polishing a turd".

May had pushed the cabinet to accept that Britain

would continue to follow EU rules governing manufacturing and agriculture after Brexit. This was the only way to deliver what big business wants—no obstacles to making profits.

In addition the European

Court of Justice would be supreme in interpreting the British-EU rules.

Such moves are hated by substantial sections of the Tories. They want Britain to be able to make its own trade deals outside EU influence.

They also see leaving the EU as a way to force through even more racist immigration laws.

May's deal represented a victory for multinational firms and bosses. But it has torn the Tories further apart. Davis said he hoped his

resignation would prove to May that Tories would not tolerate further concessions.

Tory MP Jacob Rees-Mogg said that there would now be a wider revolt against the Chequers plan and that May "will be dependent on socialist votes" to get her wishes.

Labour has said that Brexit is in chaos and there ought to be a general election.

That's right—but the Tories will try desperately to cling on out of fear of a Jeremy Corbyn victory.

Meanwhile the open racists are looking for a new political opening. Nigel Farage, former Ukip leader, wrote in the Telegraph on Monday, "If the great Brexit betrayal isn't reversed, I'll have no choice but to return as Ukip leader."

It's urgent that the left offers a way forward, not by embracing the EU but by directing struggle against the rich and their political representatives.

Only much greater resistance can break the Tories.

It's time to increase the level of struggle to drive out May—and the whole rotten government.

The new Brexit secretary who hates the poor

DOMINIC RAAB, the new Brexit secretary, said last year that most food bank users are not "languishing in poverty".

When a disability activist told him "people are dying" because of Tory austerity, he dismissed her calls for more funds as a "childish wish list".

In 2011 Raab complained of "blatant discrimination against men".

He said men should "burn their briefs" in protest and described feminists as "among the most obnoxious bigots".

He defended these remarks last week.

Raab was a co-author of *Britannia Unchained*, a

book published in 2012 by the Free Enterprise Group of Thatcherites in the Tory Party. The book described workers in Britain as "the worst idlers in the world".

"Too many people in Britain, we argue, prefer a lie-in to hard work," it said.

It called for workers' conditions to be cut to compete with the likes of China.

Until February this year he had been a member for years of a private Facebook group that called for the return of workhouses, NHS privatisation and the sale of all council homes.

Raab said he was not aware he was a member.

He appeared on the

list of Conservative MPs accused of sexual misconduct, alongside the phrase "Injunction for inappropriate behaviour with a woman".

Raab wrote on his website that "any insinuation that I have engaged in anything resembling sexual harassment, sexually abusive behaviour or lewd remarks" was "false and malicious".

In 2011 Raab gave a speech to the Centre for Policy Studies entitled "Escaping the strait jacket".

Its proposals included abolishing the minimum wage for those under 21 working

for small businesses and making it easy to sack "underperforming employees".

He also wants to abolish restrictions on the use of agency workers, and repeal the working time regulations.

Tories lying over benefits

CAMPAIGNERS are calling for Tory minister Esther McVey to resign after it emerged that she misled parliament over the hated Universal Credit (UC) benefit.

The work and pensions secretary had previously told MPs that the National Audit Office thought UC was being rolled out "too slowly" and that it should "continue at a faster rate".

In fact its report said that the rollout should be paused.

McVey has now apologised for "inadvertently misleading" MPs.

But there was

Liar Esther McVey

nothing inadvertent about what she did.

Ellen Clifford is an activist with Disabled People Against Cuts.

She told *Socialist Worker*, "Esther McVey shamelessly lied to parliament as the Tories try to conceal how much of an utter disaster UC is."